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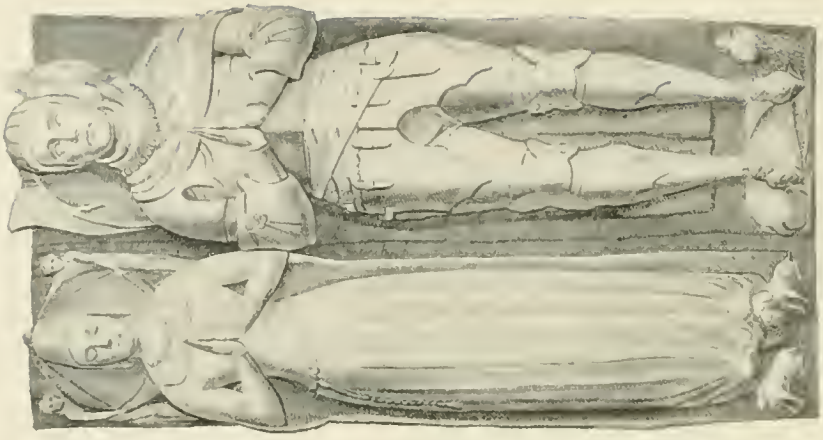

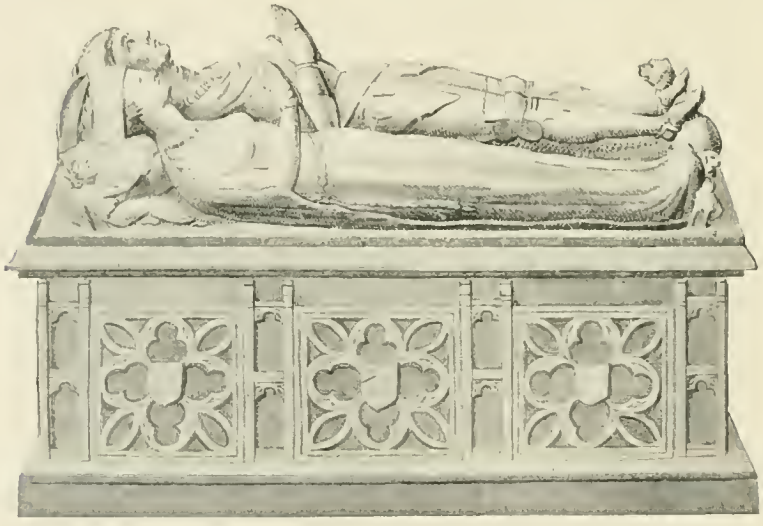

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PREFACE.

IT is a fact usually forgotten that throughout the middle ages London was one of the most beautiful towns in Christendom. A combination of circumstances brought about this happy result. In those days the tidal river (to which, indeed, it owed its existence), just broad enough for the finest aërial effects, was spanned by a bridge more picturesque than the Ponte Vecchio at Florence or the Rialto. On the banks of the Thames were stately buildings, and along the river there must have been a constant passing and repassing of decorated barges owned by great people, of craft laden with merchandize, and of boats innumerable plying for hire. From time to time sports of various kinds and water pageants gave brightness to the scene. It had its dark side, too, when some unfortunate being was hurried to Traitor's Gate, the entrance by water to the Tower of London, which still survives to show us what a great Norman fortress of rare character was like.

The City, standing for the most part on low hills, was richly furnished with ecclesiastical buildings both within and without the defensive walls, these latter a legacy of the Romans, which existed in good condition, being thoroughly repaired as late as the year 1476, in the mayoralty of Sir Ralph Joceline. On about the highest point within this boundary stood old St. Paul's Cathedral, its steeple with lofty spire crowning and dominating the whole. Of the hundred and thirteen parish churches mentioned by Fabyan, the chronicler, we still have eight: to these may be added part of Austin Friars' church, the Norman crypt of St. Mary-le-Bow, and a few other fragments, for the most part drastically restored.

The Guildhall was early the centre of civic life. By the first quarter of the 15th century it had already been to a large extent "new edyfied and of an olde lytell cottage made into a fayre and goodly house." Of this rebuilding the fine crypt and porch and part of the walls still remain, but the many halls of the City Companies almost without exception perished in the Great Fire, or in process of time have been replaced by modern structures, the only traces of mediæval work in them spared to us being portions of Merchant Taylors' Hall, Threadneedle Street.

Thus ancient public buildings in the City are few and far between, while, owing to a variety of causes, the private houses of citizens will soon altogether have disappeared. These were chiefly of timber or half-timbered construction. Stow, writing in 1598, records the existence of stone mansions, but as of something remarkable and uncommon. Of such mansions none seems to have roused his admiration more than "the great house called Crosby Place," the finest of its time in London, of which the hall, now, alas! delivered over to the tender mercies of the housebreaker, was one of the best examples we possessed of the domestic architecture of England in the 15th century. The building was also of extreme inte-

rest in connection with past events and personages. Shakespeare must have known it well, and it had been in the hands of royalty, of famous citizens, of high nobles, of many foreign ministers and envoys, and of at least one belonging to the first rank of Englishmen. The following historical account is supplemented by a description of the building from the pen of Mr. W. D. Caröe, F.S.A., who has made great efforts to save it from destruction. For the notes on the various records that furnish material for its architectural and topographical history we are chiefly indebted to Mr. Walter H. Godfrey.

PHILIP NORMAN.

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CROSBY PLACE.

THE early history of Crosby Place is intimately connected with that of the Benedictine Priory of the Nuns of St. Helen hard by, founded by William, son of William the goldsmith, about the year 1212, when a nave or choir for the use of the nuns was added to the north side of the existing nave of St. Helen's parish church, near Bishopsgate Street.

It was in the year 1466 that Sir John Crosby, a citizen of great wealth and influence, who was then occupying a house which had been previously tenanted on an earlier lease from the nuns of St. Helen's by Cataneo Pinelli, a merchant of distinguished Genoese family, obtained from "Dame Alice Ashfelde, Pryoresse of the convent," a lease for 99 years of certain lands and tenements, including that in which he then dwelt, to the south and south-west of the priory precinct and adjoining it, at a rent of £11 6s. 8d. a year, and there he erected his magnificent mansion, which must have been partly on the site of Roman buildings, for remains of them have been discovered again and again. These include a tesselated pavement somewhat resembling one at Bignor, beneath the south-west angle of Crosby Square, together with some ancient foundations described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1836, other Roman pavements in 1871 and 1873, and again one in 1902. Stow speaks of the house as being "of stone and timber, very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London."

Sir John was a man of good family, though a silly tradition is repeated by Stow that his surname had its origin because he was found by a cross. It is almost certain that another Sir John Crosby, also an alderman, who died about 1376, leaving a son John in minority, was his grandfather. They all of them owned the manor of Hanworth, near Hampton Court. The founder of Crosby Place appears to have been by trade a woolman, but belonged to the Grocers' Company, of which, in 1463–4, he served the office of warden. In 1466 he was elected a member of Parliament for London, and also an auditor of the City accounts. In 1468 he became alderman for Broad Street ward. In 1470, during the brief resuscitation of Henry VI., he was elected sheriff in spite of the fact that he appears to have been a zealous Yorkist. On May 14th of the following year, when that party had once more gained the upper hand, he bravely helped to repel the attack of the bastard Falconbridge on London, and on the 21st of that month, with other prominent citizens, he met King Edward IV. between Shoreditch and Islington on the monarch's return to London from his crowning triumph of Tewkesbury. The next day he received the honour of knighthood. Thomas Heywood, in his

play of Edward IV., alludes to these events, but makes out that Crosby was mayor, not sheriff. According to Heywood, after being knighted he thus soliloquizes:

> "Ay, marry Crosby, this befits thee well.
> But some will marvel that with scarlet gown
> I wear a gilded rapier at my side."

In the play Jane Shore officiates as mayoress, whereby the King first becomes acquainted with her.

In the two following years Sir John was employed by King Edward in confidential missions to the Duke of Burgundy; he was also mayor of the Staple of Calais.

The building of Crosby Place must have taken some time, and, as Stow records, "Sir John died in 1475, so short a space enjoyed he that sumptuous building." He was buried in the neighbouring church of St. Helen, where in the chapel of the Holy Ghost, on the south side of the choir, his fine altar tomb exists in good condition, but is now perched so high up that the details can with difficulty be seen. It is composed of freestone, and has on it his recumbent figure and that of his first wife, Agnes, the material of these being alabaster. He is in plate armour, with a mantle over the shoulders, and a collar of roses and suns alternating, the latter a badge of Edward IV. assumed after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, when a mock sun appeared, which was thought to be an omen of victory. His head is resting on his helmet and his feet on a griffin. There is no sword, but a dagger on his right side. The wife is in a close cap, and her head rests on a cushion covered with a veil, which is held by a little angel on each side. She appears to have a collar of roses; at her feet are two small dogs. The Latin inscription, which has disappeared, is printed by Weever, and records the deaths of five children, apparently by his first wife. On the tomb are shields of arms, among them those of Crosby, viz.: Sable, a chevron Ermine between three rams trippant Argent, armed and hoofed Or. The crest, also a ram trippant; on the helmet of an esquire, formed the central boss of the groined roof of the bay window in the hall.

Crosby's will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, February 6th, 1475. The executors were Thomas Rigby and William Bracebridge. The former was Common Serjeant in the year 1459, and his technical knowledge must have been useful in the preparation of so long and elaborate a document, a copy of which we print in the appendix. Bracebridge, citizen and draper, was associated with Sir John in his second mission to Burgundy, and was also during some years a member of Parliament for London. Among other noteworthy bequests was a sum of £100 for the repair of Bishopsgate and the walls adjoining, provided that the work should be begun within ten years. This was effected as part of a general scheme of restoration during the mayoralty of Sir

Ralph Joceline in 1477. At the beginning of the 19th century the testator's arms were still in existence, though much defaced, on a part of the wall at or near Bethlehem Hospital. He left 500 marks for "the renewing and reforming of the church," and money for a priest to say mass for his soul, and to the prioress and convent of St. Helen. To his second wife, Anne, who survived him, he bequeathed £2,000 in money, jewels, clothing and household goods, also Crosby Place during her life, or if she were about to have a child at the time of his decease, during the minority of her child; and, if no child were born, to his wife for the residue of the term should she live so long. After the death of his wife with no child before the expiration of the lease, he bequeathed the remainder of it to his executors, and directed them to sell the same and to dispose of the money so obtained for the benefit of his soul and the souls of his wives and children. As to the real estate, in the event of all his family dying out, including his cousin Peter Christemas, he left the remainder to the Grocers' Company to be spent in various ways, which he fully specified. In accordance with the provisions of his will, money was given for the building of the brick tower of Theydon Garnon church in Essex, as might be learnt from an inscription there now partly defaced. The date is 1520.

Sir John, being lord of the manor of Hanworth, appointed the rector in 1471. Five years afterwards there was a presentation by the trustees of his estate ("Feoffati Dominus de Hanworth," as Newcourt puts it), and in 1498 one John Crosby presented to the living. It has long been an open question if he was a posthumous son of Sir John, his possible birth being foreshadowed in the will. This difficulty has now been solved. Among the documents at the hall of the Grocers' Company Mr. Goss has found positive reference to the son, who grew to manhood, and at the time of the presentation would have been about 23 years of age. If further proof of the son's existence were required it is given in a subsequent page of our monograph. Mention is made in Sir John's will of a daughter, Joan or Johanna Crosby otherwise Talbot, to whom he left 200 marks on her coming of age or marrying, also the manor of Hanworth should issue by his second wife fail. But she probably died between the time of his executing the will on March 6th, 1471, and his own decease about four years afterwards. The alternative surname suggests that she may have been a natural child. On the other hand, the name Johanna appears as that of one of the children on the Crosby monument.

It is not known how long Anne Crosby resided at the mansion as a widow during the minority of her son, but in 1483, eight years after her husband's death, we find it in the occupation of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III. Fabyan, in his Chronicle, tells us how "the Duke caused the King" (Edward V.) "to be removed unto the Tower and his broder with hym, and the Duke

lodged himselfe in Crosbyes Place in Bisshoppes gate Strete." Holinshed also relates that "little by little all folke withdrew from the Tower, and drew unto Crosbies in Bishops gates Street, where the Protector kept his houshold. The Protector had the resort; the King in maner desolate." He evidently copies from Hall, whose words are almost identical. Here it seems that informal councils were held in which the Duke of Buckingham took a leading part, as we are told by Sir Thomas More in his "Life of Edward V." Finally the house is immortalised by Shakespeare in no less than three passages of his play called "Richard III.," wherein Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, appoints it as a place of meeting. These, although well known, I shall venture to quote once again.
First, in addressing Anne Nevill, whom he afterwards married, she having been betrothed to Edward, Prince of Wales, slain at Tewkesbury or assassinated after the battle, he begs her as a favour that she will—

"Leave these sad designs
To him that hath most cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby House."*

An anachronism this, as his marriage took place long before he lodged in that building.
Later in the play the following dialogue takes place between him and a hired murderer :—

Gloucester. "Are you now going to dispatch this deed?
First Murderer. We are, my Lord; and come to have the warrant,
That we may be admitted where he is.
Gloucester. Well thought upon; I have it here about me.
(Gives the warrant.)
When you have done, repair to Crosby Place."

And, thirdly, he addresses Catesby thus :—

Gloucester. "Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep?
Catesby. You shall, my Lord.
Gloucester. At Crosby Place, there shall you find us both."

There is a special reason why Shakespeare should have mentioned the house thus often. He must have known it intimately, for our best authorities now accept the fact first discovered by Mr. Joseph Hunter from the parish books, that in 1598 he was a resident in St. Helen's parish, his name appearing there in an assessment roll for the collection of subsidies. We shall presently see that an "Antonio" was intimately connected with Crosby Place before Shakespeare's time, and the latter doubtless knew him well by reputation. It may be worth while to point out that this Italian name occurs in no less than seven of Shakespeare's plays, oftener perhaps than any other.

* *In the quarto edition Shakespeare has "Crosby* Place," *in the folio edition published after his death it is "Crosby* House."

The statement made by recent writers that the crown was offered to Richard at Crosby Place is not, as far as I am aware, derived from early evidence, Sir Thomas More placing that event at Baynard's Castle, and being supported by Hall, Grafton, and Holinshed. Shakespeare also lays the scene there, after Buckingham has harangued the citizens. Stow says that "Richard Duke of Gloucester, being elected by the nobles and commons in the Guildhall, took on him the title of the realm and kingdom as imposed upon him in this Baynard's Castle." Strype, however, in his edition of Stow (1720) speaks of the citizens coming to him at Crosby Place, and desiring him to accept the crown.

Little or nothing is known about the mansion for a few years after Richard's tenure of it, but from a Cottonian manuscript lately edited by Mr. C. L. Kingsford, I learn that on Candlemas Eve, 1495–96, "the frost enduryng, was receyued into London an honorable Ambassade from the Duke of Burgoyn, which was conveyd by dyvers lordes and gentilmen into Crosbyes place and there logged; whereof the chief man of them was called Lord Bevir or otherwise Erle of Camfere."

The next occupant recorded was Sir Bartholomew Reed, goldsmith (his name is spelt in various ways), to whom, on January 24th, 1501 (or 16 Henry VII.), the original lease was assigned by the executor of William Bracebridge, then deceased, who had been Sir John Crosby's surviving executor. Reed kept his mayoralty here in 1502, and gave a most elaborate banquet "to more than 100 persons of great estate." Stow says that it could not possibly have taken place at Goldsmith's Hall, which, though "a proper house," was not large enough, and that for such a feast "Westminster Hall would hardly have sufficed." He must have been unaware that Reed then occupied Crosby Place. Grafton in his Chronicles, copying from Hall, tells us how this year "Maximilian the Emperour, hearing that Queene Elizabeth (wife of Henry VII.) was deceased, sent into England a solempne Ambassade of the which Lorde Cazimire, Marques of Bradenburgh his cosyn, accompanied with a Byshop, an Erle, and a great number of gentlemen well appareled, was principall Ambassadour, which were triumphantly receaved into London and was lodged at Crosbyes Place." Reed, who was son of Robert Reed of Cromer, where he founded a free school, and who also left money for an obit at the church of St. John Zachary in London, did not long survive his year of office. He died in 1505, and was buried at the Charterhouse, leaving a widow Elizabeth who was his executrix. To her a release of the estate was granted on May 9th, 21 Henry VII., or 1506, by William Fermer and his wife Johanna born Marlowe, executors of the will of John Crosby "nuper de London gentilman," Sir John's son, who is thus proved to have been no longer living. The deed which embodies these facts has been seen by the writer.

Within a few years we find another great citizen occupying the mansion,

namely, Sir John Rest, grocer, mayor in 1516-17 (the year of "Evil May-day") or lord mayor as we will now call him. And here it may be thought allowable to make a slight digression regarding the title of the highest civic dignitary. The earliest reference to the *Lord* Mayor that has been traced in the Guildhall records occurs on April 24th, 1504, although it has been said that some such title was used incidentally in a charter of Edward III. (1354) permitting the serjeants of the City to bear gold or silver maces, with the royal arms or otherwise, and in the reign of Edward IV., as we are told by Dr. Reginald Sharpe, the mayor for the time being is recorded both as "Mayor" and as the "honourable lord the Maire," also as "my lord the Maire." It is believed by those best able to judge that the prefix "Lord" is in London borne by prescriptive right and not by any formal act of authority on the part of the King.

With regard to Sir John Rest, the following facts are perhaps worth recording. His native place was Peterborough, and he became free of the Grocers' Company by apprenticeship in 1490. He was a warden of it in 1502, and held the office of "upper master" in 1515 and again in 1521. He appears to have died in 1523, being buried in the church of the Crossed or Crutched Friars. In due course Sir John Rest, or rather his executors, made way for an illustrious tenant, Sir Thomas More, about whom, and about subsequent owners and tenants during the greater part of the 15th century, most interesting facts can be learnt from a series of deeds which, although some of them have been already referred to by the Rev. Thomas Hugo and others, have never yet been systematically investigated. It will be right, therefore, to say a few words on the subject. In the course of last summer eight original documents relating to Crosby Place were disposed of in London. The earliest in date was that bought by Mr. Bernard Quaritch at Messrs. Sotheby's on July 19th, from which the present owner, who by his own wish remains anonymous, has kindly given me important information.

At Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's, on June 20th, the remaining seven deeds, of a somewhat later period, passed into the appropriate hands of Mr. Charles W. F. Goss for the Governors of the Bishopsgate Institute. This gentleman, who is distinguished by his knowledge of matters relating to London, with great generosity gave me information from his documents before the publication of his recent work in which they have now appeared. Messrs. Coates and Marsh are also the fortunate owners of original deeds relating to this property and its owners and occupants, and have behaved with equal kindness.

Sir Thomas More was essentially a City man, born in Milk Street, Cheapside, educated partly at St. Anthony's school in Threadneedle Street, and undoubtedly residing in Bucklersbury, to be near his father, during his first marriage which ended in 1511. In the previous year he had been made under-sheriff of London, and in May 1515 he left England as

envoy on an embassy to Flanders to secure by treaty further protection of English commerce and interests. He received 13s. 4d. a day—a sum insufficient (he told Erasmus) to maintain himself abroad as well as his wife and children in London. He was absent six months or more, and is said to have composed the second part of the "Utopia" during the next year, completing it in October. Although it has often been accepted as a fact that he wrote this at Crosby Place, there is no evidence to connect him with that mansion until after the death of Sir John Rest. It seems, however, probable that, on account of his various occupations and duties in the City, and the growing favour of the King, who was much at Baynard's Castle, More, after his return from abroad, would often have occupied a London residence.* Indeed, from 1518, when he was introduced to the Privy Council and nominated master of requests, or examiner of petitions presented to the King on his progress through the country, he undoubtedly spent much of his time at Court. There is some ground for supposing that he kept on the house in Bucklersbury, part of which street belongs to the parish of St. Stephen Walbrook, for in the marriage licence of his daughter Margaret with William Roper, dated July 2nd, 1521, she is described as of that parish.

From the deed sold by Mr. Quaritch last summer I am able to state a fact until recently quite unknown. In that document, which relates to the subsequent sale of Crosby Place by More to Antonio Bonvisi, mention is made of a pair of indentures between More and the executors of Sir John Rest, which I take to show the real date of his purchase. We also learn therein that Sir John Rest was not a sub-tenant but held the original lease of the property. The amount that More paid to the said executors was £150, and the date was June 1st, 1523. As he sold the lease of Crosby Place with its appurtenances to Bonvisi for £200 in January 1524 it can only have been in his possession during a few months, and it is a question if he ever resided there at all. Some years before this, perhaps even before 1517, he had begun to make for himself his delightful home in Chelsea.† I wish with all my heart that I could conscientiously connect

Cresacre More says of him when much in favour, that at one time "it pleased his majesty and the queen after the council had supped, at supper time commonly to call for him to hear his pleasant jests." The result being that "he could scarce once in a month get leave to go home to his wife and children, whom he had now placed at Chelsey three miles from London by the water's side." He therefore "much misliking the restraint of his liberty began to dissemble his mirth," and by degrees "was not so ordinarily sent for."

†*More added to his property at Chelsea about the time of the sale of Crosby Place. In the "Feet of Fines" for Middlesex two purchases by him are recorded in 1524, one of a messuage and seven-and-a-half acres of land in Chelsea and Kensington for £20, the other of twenty-seven acres in Chelsea for £30.*

him with Crosby Place for a longer time. However, the fact remains that he possessed it and passed it on to one of his greatest friends.

Antonio Bonvisi belonged to an ancient family of Lucca which had settled in England before his time, and he was perhaps born in this country. Already a thriving merchant in London as early as 1513, three years previously, on payment of £20, he had received the freedom of the city. He dealt in wool, jewels, and foreign articles, and acted as banker to the Government, transmitting money and letters to ambassadors in France, Italy, and elsewhere. He was a patron and friend of learned men, especially of those who had visited and studied in Italy. More, in one of his last letters from the Tower, speaks of himself as having been for nearly forty years "not a guest but a continual nursling of the house of Bonvisi." The latter was also godfather to one of his grandsons, Augustine. His great-grandson Cresacre More tells us that a short time before the execution, "Sir Thomas, as one that had been invited to a solemn banquet, changed himself into his best apparel, and put on his silk camlet gown, which his entire friend Mr. Anthony Bonvise had given him" whilst he was in prison. The Lieutenant of the Tower begged him to change them, for the executioner to whom they would come as perquisites was but a "gavill" or worthless fellow. "What," said More, "shall I account him a gavill that will do me this day so singular a benefit?" He was persuaded, however, to exchange it for "a gown of friese," but gave the executioner "of that little money which was left him one angel."

It has been shown that Crosby built his mansion on ground belonging to the prioress and nuns of St. Helen's, and they continued to possess the fee simple until the Dissolution. On March 28th, 1538, they leased to Antonio Bonvisi, their great messuage with all houses, solars, cellars, gardens, &c., called "Crosbyes Place," together with nine messuages belonging to the same, for a term of 71 years immediately after the completion of the term of 99 years which had been granted to Sir John Crosby and had 28 years to run. The rent was to be the same, viz. £11 6s. 8d. from the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The deed, still in existence, has the large seal of the Priory. On October 6th, 1538, they also let to Bonvisi a tenement, with solars, cellars, &c., situated in a certain alley within their close over his larder house and coal house, and lately in the tenure of Juliana Francys for 80 years at a rent of 10s., which will be referred to again in our "critical and comparative notes."

This was their last act as owners of the property, and on November 25th of that year (30 Henry VIII.), not 1539 as wrongly stated by the editors of Dugdale, they surrendered their convent to the King, and were shortly afterwards expelled from the home which had been in possession of their order for more than three centuries.

Thus Henry became ground landlord of Crosby Place: he allowed Bonvisi to continue as leaseholder, and in August 1542 he granted to him, in

return for the sum of £207 18s. 4d. and certain property in Essex which had belonged to the Black Friars, the fee simple of the house, together with all solars, gardens, lanes, messuages, tenements, void pieces of ground and all other appurtenances thereunto belonging," the payment being made to Sir Edward North, who is described as "Treasurer of the Revenue of the Augmentations of the King." The acquittance is dated August 28th. Bonvisi was opposed to the Reformation, insomuch that Wriothesley calls him "a rank Papist," and after a time his religious principles gave him a sense of insecurity in England. On April 1st, 1547, early in the reign of Edward VI., he made over Crosby Place for 90 years to William Roper of Eltham and William Rastell as tenants, the former his son-in-law, the latter, son of John Rastell the printer, and nephew of Sir Thomas More, who edited More's works "wrytten in the Englysh tongue," and in 1558 became a judge. Roper, as we well know, wrote the sympathetic life of More, and was husband of Margaret his devoted daughter. On June 22nd of that year (1547) Bonvisi obtained licence to convey the property to Richard Heywood and John Webb in trust for himself for life, and after his death to the use of Peter Crowle, Anthony Roper (son of William), Germain Cioll, and John Rither, cofferer of the King's household, and the heirs of their bodies in regular succession, and on July 1st he executed a will leaving it to the same persons in the same order, and confirming Roper and Rastell in the lease. The deed of feoffment was dated July 4th. One month later, namely, on August 2nd, 1547, when Antonio Bonvisi is described as living there, Roper and Rastell leased the place to Germain Cioll and Benedict Bonvisi. Shortly after this, Benedict Bonvisi, Heywood, Webb, Roper, Rastell, and Germain Cioll, at varying intervals, fled to the Continent, all of them being under suspicion on account of their faith, with the possible exception of Cioll, who remained till October 20th, 1550.

Antonio Bonvisi still continued to be owner, but on September 25th, 3rd Edward VI., he, too, "fled, withdrewe himself without and departed out of England unto the places beyond the sea without lycens of his soverayne lord," and Crosby Place was seized by the sheriffs of London on February 7th, 1550, having been forfeited to King Edward VI., who made it over, on June 18th, 1553, to Sir Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy. Mr. C. Trice Martin tells us that in the general pardon of 1553 Bonvisi was excepted, together with Cardinal Pole and a few others. On the death of Edward, July 6th, in the same year, and succession of his half-sister Mary, there was, of course, a complete change of policy with regard to religious matters. Pressure was doubtless put on Lord Darcy to give up the estate, so that we find among Mr. Goss's documents a grant by him of the fee simple of Crosby Place to Antonio Bonvisi and of the old lease to Benedict Bonvisi and Germain Cioll, dated the 10th May in the 1st year of Queen Mary or 1554.

There is no evidence that Antonio Bonvisi again resided at Crosby Place, we do not even know that he came back to England. From an indenture dated June 26th, 1554, only a few weeks after Lord Darcy's surrender, it appears that Peter Crowle had then come into the use of the property, his name, as we have seen, standing second in the original deed of settlement to which Heywood and Webb were parties, and in the will executed shortly afterwards. This indenture of June 26th, 1554, proves that Bonvisi was still the owner, as Crowle promises that he "shall at all times hereafter do and act as Anthony Bonvisi shall desire." On June 6th, 1555, the Earl of Devonshire, writing to James Bassett, says that he is going to pass a little time in Lorraine and to visit Mr. "Bonvise," who has promised to advance him money on Bassett's credit. Again, in the next month he writes to Bonvisi that he has need of a thousand crowns, which he desires him to pay into the hands of Thomas Gresham, and in another letter addressed to Bonvisi he thanks him for the order he has taken for payment of the thousand crowns and sends him his bill for the same. Although the Christian name is not given in any of these letters we may fairly assume that it was Antonio, and that he was then living abroad. The "Inquisitio post mortem" of Antonio Bonvisi, an inquiry to find out what land deceased owned in England at the time of his death, took place in 1559 before Sir Thomas Leigh, then Lord Mayor, the document recording it being now at the Record Office. He died December 7th, 1558, Benedict, son of his brother Martin and 30 years of age, being named as his heir. Crosby Place, with the garden, offices, and other buildings attached, is stated therein to be "held of the Queen in chief by service of a fortieth part of one knight's fee and a yearly rental of 23s. 8d. payable at Michaelmas, in the name of a tenth for all demands payable to the Crown, and worth clear £11 16s. 8d." From that time we have no further record of Benedict Bonvisi.

The next on the list of those on whom the property had been entailed was Germain Cioll, of whose nationality I am doubtful. It has been suggested in Burgon's "Life of Gresham" that he was of Spanish origin and that he came over to England in the train of Philip II., but he was evidently here much earlier. He married at the church of St. Michael, Bassishaw, February 20th, 1554, and held the office of churchwarden of St. Helen's in 1566, which denotes that he was then at least a Protestant. There is an assignment of Crosby Place and its appurtenances to him and his wife Cicely, by Peter Crowle, dated on the last day of February 1560, and they came into full possession of the property in June 1561, after nominal tenure of the fee simple by James* and Thomas Altham during the earlier months of that year, a friendly arrangement, no doubt, the

**James Altham had been sheriff of London in 1557. He married Elizabeth, sister of Sir Thomas Blancke, Lord Mayor in 1583, and his son Sir James Altham became a judge.*

reasons for which are not now apparent. Cicely was a daughter of Sir John Gresham and cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange, who lived in Bishopsgate Street hard by. He had been apprenticed to her father and left her by will £100. Among existing documents we find in Latin a pardon for Germain Cioll, dated January 15th, 1st Elizabeth, or 1558, the offences laid to his charge being conspiracy and treason. On January 25th, 1561, the house was let by Germain to his brother John, and to John Frier, doctor of physic.

After a time Germain Cioll, who was a merchant and during the reign of Queen Mary had been engaged in the service of the State, got into difficulties, as we learn from the following petition addressed to Cecil by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566 :—" I am so bold as to send you a letter that my cousin Ciole hath written unto me, wherein I praie you, for my sake, to helpe him to his money if it be possible, in this his great necessitie, whom I will insure you is fallen in decay only by sea and Bankrowts." This explains the reason why Crosby Place with five messuages or tenements was sold on May 15th, 1566, to William Bond, alderman, for £1,600, Germain Cioll reserving four tenements, besides some chambers near the hall, to which allusion will presently be made. His wife, who survived him, seems in spite of his losses to have been fairly well off. She occupied one of the tenements till her death on January 10th, 1609, and refers to it in her will as her "dwelling-house" in Bishopsgate Street. She left money for the poor of St. Helen's, and of the parish of St. Michael's Bassishaw, and was buried in her father's vault at the east end of the south aisle of the latter church. The entrance to this vault was exposed to view on the destruction of St. Michael's about the year 1898. Alderman Bond, the purchaser of the mansion from Cioll, increased it in height by building a turret on the top, probably of some portion that has long ago disappeared. He died in 1576, Sir Thomas Gresham being one of the witnesses of his will. He left the property to his widow Margaret for life if she remained unmarried. In the event of her marrying again it was to go to his second son, William, for life, he paying £13 13s. 4d. a year to each of the younger sons, Nicholas and Martin; if William died, Nicholas would succeed on payment of £20 a year to Martin, with remainder to the eldest son, Daniel, and his heirs. It appears that William, the second son, continued, with his mother, to reside there. His brother Nicholas for a time occupied a tenement adjoining, which was purchased by William, and is described as being in the close of St. Helen and to have had a garden plot and orchard attached to it. From the inscription on the tomb of the elder William Bond in the neighbouring church of St. Helen, which has the effigies of himself, his wife and their children, we learn that he was a person of energy and importance. It runs as follows:—" Here lyeth the body of William Bond, alderman, and sometime sheriff of London; a merchant adventurer, and most famous in his age for his great adven-

tures both by sea and land." As monumental epitaphs always take the form of panegyric the writer does not mention that on November 7th, 1564, "for his contemptuous behaviour in traphicking to Narva contrary to the commandement given him by the Boarde, by the Queene's order" Bond "was comitted to the Flete," where he was kept for a week in close confinement, as appears from a manuscript in the Privy Council Office.

There is also in St. Helen's church a quaint monument to Martin Bond, son of the alderman. He was a captain of train-bands, present at Tilbury camp in 1588, when Queen Elizabeth reviewed her citizen soldiers there during the time of the Spanish Armada, and he is figured sitting in armour at the door of his tent. To the left a page holds his horse, while two sentries are on guard, in the costume of the period, and carrying match-locks. The whole composition, though somewhat rudely wrought, is spirited and lifelike. He died in May, 1643, being then of the parish of St. Katherine Creechurch. There is an almost precisely similar monument, but of earlier date, in the church of Barking, Essex, to Sir Charles Montagu, presumably also a captain of train-bands, and a local magnate. Martin Bond laid the foundations of the new Aldgate in 1607. Some Roman coins were found on the site, and he had two copied in stone as medallions, and placed on the outer side of the gate. Besides being twice M.P. for London he was treasurer and a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where his portrait is preserved, also a pewter inkstand presented by him, with his name and the date 1619. He belonged to the Haberdashers' Company.

During the occupation of Crosby Place by the Bonds several ambassadors were lodged there. Soon after the purchase of the property, viz. in 1569, the Duke of Alva having sent an agent, Monsieur d'Assonleville, to demand the restitution of certain treasure, on his arrival in London he was placed more or less in the custody of Alderman Bond, being lodged with his train at Crosby Place, where intercourse with the Spanish ambassador was forbidden. After fruitless efforts to obtain what he wanted he took his departure on March 8th. Stow mentions as a tenant or visitor, "in the year 1586 Henry Ramelius, chancellor of Denmark, ambassador unto the Queen's majesty of England from Frederick II., the King of Denmark, and ambassador of France, &c." In the St. Helen's parish register it is recorded that Nicholas Fylio, secretary of the French ambassador, was buried September 23rd, 1592.

In 1594 the Bonds sold Crosby Place to Sir John Spencer, who, according to Stow, "made great reparations, kept his mayoralty there, and since built a most large warehouse near thereunto," on the site of which now stands the Jewish Synagogue in Great St. Helens, designed by Mr. Davies, one of the "restorers" of Crosby Hall. He was a merchant, member of the Clothworkers' Company, and alderman of Langbourn Ward, who from his success in business was known as "Rich Spencer." Strype says that in the first year of James I., that is in 1603, "when divers

ambassadors came into England, Monsieur de Rosney, Great Treasurer of France, afterwards the Duc de Sully," with his retinue, which was very splendid, was there lodged. In his "Memoirs" Sully gives a detailed description of his movements on arriving in London that year as ambassador. He landed near the Tower, and was driven, amidst a great concourse of people, to the house of the Earl of Beaumont, said to be the one formerly in Butcher Row, Strand, of which there is a well-known engraving. He supped and stayed that night and dined there the following day. After this he was "accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house situated in a great square," evidently in the city. This is thought to have been Crosby Place, and it was on his very first evening there that, owing to the fact of an Englishman having been killed by one of his followers in a street broil, he got into trouble with the Lord Mayor and with a tumultuous assemblage of citizens, and had to use all his powers of diplomacy. Apartments in Arundel House were then being prepared for him, to which he afterwards removed. Others whom Strype mentions as being at Crosby Place during the first year of James I. are "the youngest son of William Prince of Orange, Monsieur Fulke, and the learned Monsieur Barnevelt, who came from the States of Holland and Zealand." The Duc de Boron is said to have been at the house in 1601, and the Russian ambassador in 1618.

By his wife, Alice Bromfield, Sir John had an only child, Elizabeth, who, against her father's wish, married William, second Lord Compton (afterwards first Earl of Northampton). If we may believe the old story, he carried off his lady love concealed in a baker's basket, from Canonbury House, Islington, Sir John's country residence, which still belongs to the Northampton family. After the birth of her child in 1601 a reconciliation took place, as some say through the influence of Queen Elizabeth, and Sir John eventually left her his fortune, variously estimated at from five hundred to eight hundred thousand pounds, a sum so vast that the inheritance of it is thought for a time to have turned the brain of his son-in-law. The heiress helped him to spend it freely, if we may judge by her letter to him written about 1616–1617, and printed in the *European Magazine* for June 1782, wherein she states her requirements, while apparently priding herself on their moderation. A few of them are as follow:— £1,600 a year paid quarterly for apparel and £600 a year for charity, £8,000 for jewels and £6,000 for a pearl chain; two coaches, one lined with velvet and two gentlewomen, as "it is an indecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone when God hath blessed her lord and lady with a great estate." After mentioning many other things that appeared to her to be necessary, she concludes thus: "So now that I have declared to you my mind what I would have, and what I would not have, I pray you when you be an Earl, to allow me £1,000 more than I now desired and *double attendance*. Your loving wife,

Eliza Compton."

Spencer died on March 3rd, 1610; his funeral at St. Helen's was sumptuous, and on a fine monument at that church the effigies of him and his lady repose side by side, their daughter, who in life seems to have been so little inclined to obedience, meekly kneeling at their feet.

Four months after Sir John's death, Lord Compton, his son-in-law, bought back two of the four messuages, reserved in the sale of Crosby Place by the Ciolls to Bond. It is, however, doubtful if he ever resided there, for in a lease of 1615, in which the place is let for 21 years to William Russell at a rent of £200 a year, it is said that the house was then or late in the tenure of the Dowager Countess of Pembroke, the "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," of Ben Jonson's epitaph.

For some years after this the East India Company were renting the place or part of it, as proved by various documents. From the State papers Mr. Goss has published a curious series of extracts bridging over this period, which had escaped my notice. I venture to cull the following:—"September 12, 1627. Ordered that the turret and other decayed places of Crosby House be forthwith repaired." "March 30, 1631. The stone warehouse at Crosby House, which is much decayed, to be forthwith repaired." "May 10–20, 1633. Report of Alderman Abdy that he hath been informed of a purpose in the Earl of Northampton to resume Crosby House into his hands at the expiration of the Company's lease, which will be within four or five years, whereupon he is intreated, or any other of the Committees known to his Lordship, to acquaint him with the report and know his answer, that so the Company may prepare and settle themselves accordingly."

Lord Compton was created Earl of Northampton in 1618, and died in 1630. From him the mansion descended to his son Spencer, 2nd Earl, who was certainly occupying it in 1638, immediately after the Company's tenure, as is proved by a curious lease of that year for the supply of water to the house by the New River Company. He died a hero's death when fighting for the King at Hopton Heath in 1642, and two years before this had leased it to Sir John Langham, Sheriff of London in 1642, for a period of 99 years. Sir John, by trade a Turkey merchant, was an ardent supporter of monarchy; and with other prominent citizens was twice sent to the Tower for resisting decrees of Parliament. It seems strange that during his tenure of Crosby House it was used as a temporary prison for Loyalists, or "malignants" as they were sometimes called. But this was perhaps only when he held the office of sheriff. The following notices of such imprisonment have appeared in print. On October 31st, 1642, the House of Commons ordered "the removal of ten prisoners from Crosby Place to Gresham Colledge"; and on December 19th, 1642, the prisoners who had been committed to Crosby Place and Gresham College were to be sent to Lambert House. Sir Kenelm Digby is said to have been confined at Crosby Place, but I can only find mention of his imprisonment in 1642, first as recorded in Sir

Roger Twysden's "Journal," at the "Three Tobacco Pipes nigh Charing Cross," where his conversation "made the prison a place of delight," and afterwards at Winchester House, Southwark. Sir John Langham was M.P. for the City of London in 1654, and for Southwark in 1660, he was knighted by Charles II. at the Hague when on a deputation urging him to come to England just before the Restoration, and shortly afterwards made a baronet. He died at Crosby Place May 13th, 1671, in the 88th year of his age, and with his death its palmy days were numbered. After that we have not much to tell but a story of destruction and decay.

To retrace our steps for a few moments. The great fire of London is sometimes said to have injured the outlying parts of the building, but this, I feel sure, is a mistake. According to the plan called "An exact surveigh of the streets, &c. within the ruins of the city of London—first described in six Plats 10 Decm^r^ A° Dom^i^ 1666 and reduced into one entire Plat" by the engraver George Vertue, the fire did not come near it, and we know that until our own time Crosby Hall Chambers, Bishopsgate Street remained in existence, a short distance south of the passage to Crosby Square and once within the grounds of the mansion. This building was at least as old as 1533, that being the date on a mantelpiece there. The Bank of Scotland now stands on the site and the mantelpiece is in the Board Room. There were of late in Great St. Helen's houses equally ancient, while to the south-east, at no great distance, is the 16th century church of St. Andrew Undershaft. However, within a short time of Langham's death a destructive fire took place in the southern portion of Crosby Place, and although, luckily, the splendid hall and other chambers escaped intact, what was left of the building ceased to be used as a residential mansion. On the ruins Crosby Square arose soon afterwards with gardens on the south side.

The freehold belonged to the Comptons till, in 1678, it was sold to Edward Cranfield by James, third Earl of Northampton. From him, in 1692, it passed to William Freeman, who after holding part of the property on a sublease, also this year bought from Sir Stephen Langham the remainder of his leasehold interest.

There is no occasion to repeat the later history of Crosby Place with very much detail. Sir John Langham had various sons, more than one of whom lived in the parish. The eldest, James, who succeeded him in the baronetcy, was already knighted in 1660, when his first wife, Mary, died and was buried in St. Helen's church. A younger son, the Stephen above referred to, knighted in 1676, is thought to have resided in the house for a short time after the father's death, perhaps till the unfortunate fire occurred there. I find many references to this son in the registers of St. Helen's. The earliest is an announcement that his intended marriage with "Mistris Marie Hoste, daughter of Mr. Derrick Hoste of Mortlake in the Countie of Surrey, Marchant," had been "published 3 seuerall

lord's daies in the Prish Church, viz^{t} the 23rd and 30th daies of Aprill and 7th daie of May, 1654, and noe exception made against it." The next entry tells us that on May 8th the wedding took place before "one of the Aldermen and Justices of the Peace w^{t}in the Cittie of London." Stephen is described as "of the prish of Saint Hellens, Marchant, sonne of John Langham of the said prish, Esquier." This ceremony was carried out in accordance with an Act passed by the Little Parliament in 1653, by which marriage was pronounced to be merely a civil contract. But, to return to the main subject of our paper, by 1672 the hall was converted in part into a Presbyterian meeting house, of which some notable men held the ministry; the first of them was Thomas Watson, ejected minister of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, whose career is sketched in the Dictionary of National Biography. It continued to be so used for nearly a hundred years, the last sermon being preached there October 1st, 1769, after which the congregation migrated to Maze Pond, Southwark. James Relly, Universalist, who had preached at a chapel in Bartholomew Close, then took the lease and held it until his death in 1678. Relly was head of a sect of his own, which did not thrive in this country, but he made a convert of John Murray, founder of the Universalist churches in America.

It is difficult to say in what particular part of Crosby House was the "General Post Office" so marked in Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677. In connection with it the following paragraph quoted by the Rev. Charles Mackenzie from the "Mercury or Advertisements concerning Trade" for May 23, 1678, is of considerable interest :—"At Crosby House in Bishopgate Street where the late General Post Office was kept, there will be held a public sale of a very considerable quantity of goods, lately belonging to a person deceased, being fine tapestry hangings, new and old, with carpets, damask, mohair and other rich beds, bedding, &c., &c. . . . a very good chariot, and a Black Girl about fifteen years of age." At this time the building was appropriated to various uses; the ground floor of the banquetting hall was a warehouse, in the occupation of one Granado Chester, a grocer. On a level with the minstrels' gallery a floor had been inserted, making a first storey, then recently used by the dissenting congregation. A staircase ascending on the outside of the hall led to this floor through an entrance made in the upper part of the bay window. Either then or shortly afterwards a second floor was added for the reception of foreign products. The two rooms, latterly known as the "throne room" and the "council room," which ran west at right angles to the hall, and had formed the north wing of the outer court of the original building, were then held at £160 a year by the "Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies," who had returned to the premises formerly occupied by them. These rooms, the lower one of which is called in the deed of Cioll's sale to William Bond the great parlour and that above it the great chamber, had a fine bay window run-

ning up from the ground like that of the hall, but between 1780 and 1690 it was alienated from the hall, being handed over to a Mr. Hall of the adjoining house, perhaps belonging to the firm of packers mentioned below, that he might make a staircase in it, and in the spring of 1816, according to Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, all the beautiful pillars and ornamental masonry of the council room were taken down by order of Mr. Strickland Freeman, then owner, and used to adorn a dairy he was building at Henley-on-Thames. Wilkinson, writing about 1817, says that "until within the last fifteen years many fragments of stained glass adorned and beautified several of the windows, but they have been accidentally broken and given away to the antiquarian visitors who have occasionally investigated the place." It may be well to record the fact that the stained glass latterly in the hall was modern. The arms and badges in the various lights of the bay window were designed and presented by Thomas Willement, F.S.A. An account of them appears in the "Mirror" for December, 1844. The other windows had the arms of subscribers to the restoration.

Before 1790 the hall was tenanted, under the Freemans, by Messrs. Holmes & Hall, packers, who, we may be sure, further mutilated it, until in 1831, their lease having run out, the site was advertised to be let for building, which meant the destruction of everything. Then, as now, public feeling was aroused against such an act of vandalism. A meeting was held on May 8th, 1832, at the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, "to take into consideration the best means to be adopted for preserving and restoring Crosby Hall," Alderman W. T. Copeland, M.P., being in the chair. A committee was formed, among its members being the Marquess of Northampton, Lord Grenville, Lord Nugent, Sir Stephen Glynne, Francis Chantrey, the famous sculptor (not yet knighted) E. Blore, J. C. Buckler, and W. Tite, the architects; Etty, the painter; antiquaries such as A. J. Kempe, J. B. Nichols and J. Gough Nichols, John Rickman, and many others. A short historical and antiquarian notice of the Hall appeared from the pen of Mr. E. J. Carlos, one of the committee, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1832, which was also published separately. Money was subscribed, the Grocers' Company giving £100. About that time William Freeman, the owner, having attained his majority, a new lease for 99 years was granted. The work of repair was then begun under the direction of Blore, who gave his services gratuitously. In March 1835 the funds at the disposal of the Committee had been exhausted by the expense of repairing the hall and the removal of the floor that cumbered it. A generous lady, Miss Hackett, came forward and "proposed to take the lease with all the clauses, covenants, and options contained therein, and to uphold the fabric according to the terms of the lease, and the resolutions of the Committee so as to preserve its ancient character. To carry into effect the engagements of the Committee by making an entrance into Bishopsgate Street, and to offer the hall at a

moderate rental to the Gresham Committee for the use of the lecturers under the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, or to appropriate the same to some other public object or objects connected with science, literature or the arts." This lady further agreed to discharge all the outstanding liabilities incurred by the Committee in the execution of their trust beyond the amount of the subscription. Under Miss Hackett the first stone of the new work was laid, June 27th, 1836, in that part of the building known as the Council Room and Throne Room. Mr. W. T. Copeland, M.P., then Lord Mayor, made an appropriate speech anticipating with much satisfaction that the stone which he placed there would be the foundation stone of Gresham College. He afterwards led the way into the hall, where a banquet was prepared in the old English style, the floor being strewn with rushes.

Mr. E. L. Blackburn, architect, who wrote the interesting "Architectural and Historical Account of Crosby Place," was the architect then appointed. Under his superintendence the south wall of the throne and council rooms, with their windows, was rebuilt, and the roof repaired. We learn from Baron Bunsen's Memoirs that, in March 1839, Mrs. Fry was here "presiding over a bazaar of works and books, to be sold for the benefit of female prisoners and convicts." He rightly calls it "glorious Crosby Hall." Negotiations with the Gresham Committee came to an end, a matter for regret, as the hall would have been most suitable for lectures, and it would be hard to devise a building more dismal or inappropriate than the present Gresham College. After the failure of the negotiations a company of proprietors was formed who purchased Miss Hackett's interest, appointed Mr. John Davies their architect, and completed the work of repair and restoration, adapting the building to the requirements of the Crosby Hall Literary and Scientific Institution, which began to occupy it in 1842. Strange to say, in spite of large sums which had been spent, no steps were then taken to safeguard the building from future attack, and the institution above named appealing to no one in particular, with difficulty dragged on its existence until it gave place to the City of London evening classes, an equally unsuccessful venture. Then for seven years the old hall was used by a wine merchant. In 1868 it became a restaurant. In 1871 the whole of the property was put up to auction by the Freeman family, much of it being sold, including houses in Bishopsgate Street, Crosby Square and Great St. Helen's, but they bought in the hall for £22,500, only to sell it privately to Messrs. Gordon & Co. shortly afterwards. It continued to be used as a restaurant until, during last spring, the sad news was suddenly sprung upon us that it had been sold to a bank for immediate demolition. Alas! the secret had been too well kept. Gallant efforts were made to rescue this unique fabric, but it was found impossible to raise the huge sum demanded. Thus it comes about that to the amazement of foreigners and to our abiding shame and sorrow Crosby Hall has ceased to be.

EXTERNAL VIEW OF HALL, c. 1790

RESTORATION OF OUTER COURTYARD

GREAT HALL LOOKING SOUTH, 1816

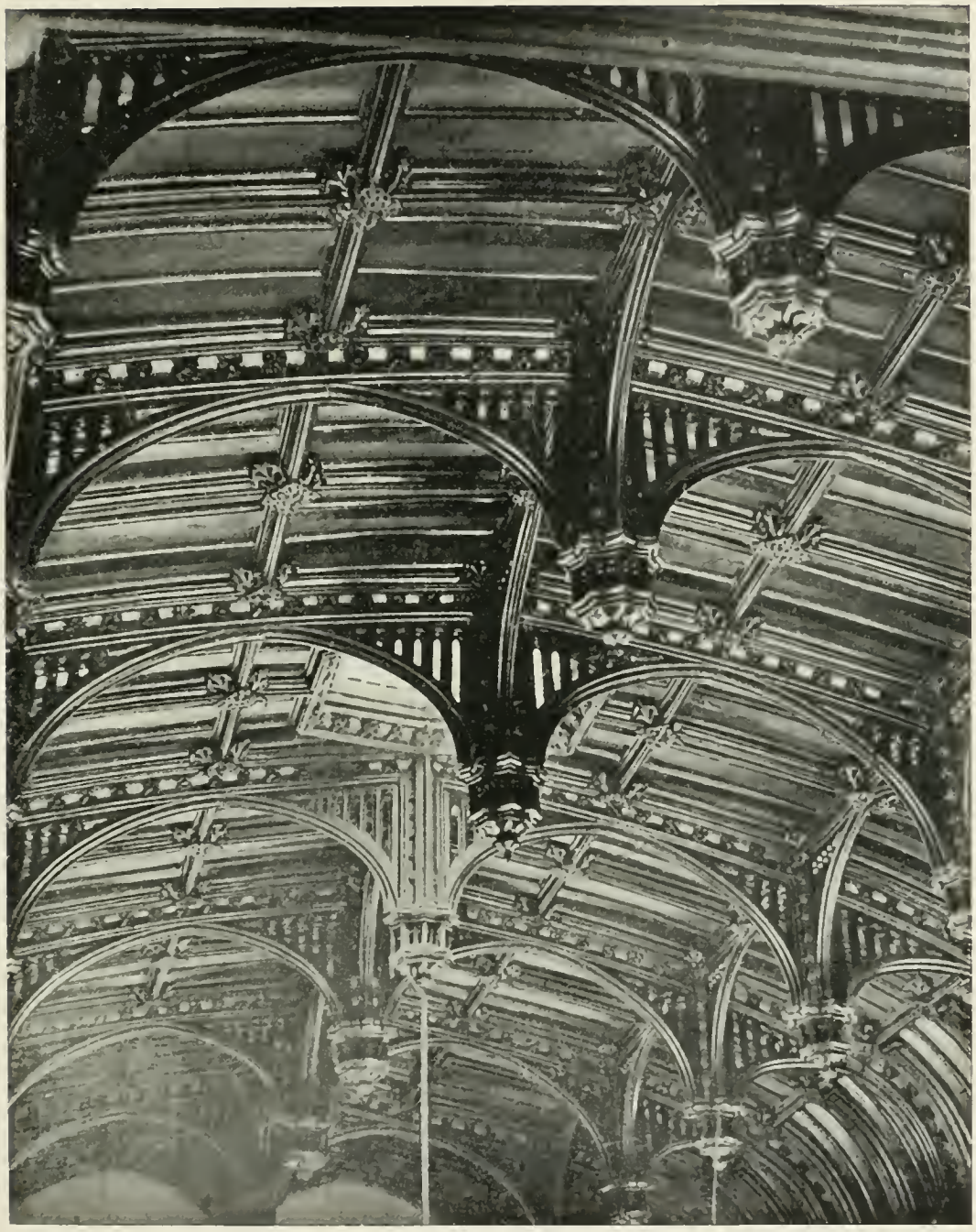
GREAT HALL LOOKING NORTH, 1804

GREAT PARLOUR AND GREAT CHAMBER ABOVE, 1816
(WITH INTERMEDIATE FLOOR REMOVED)

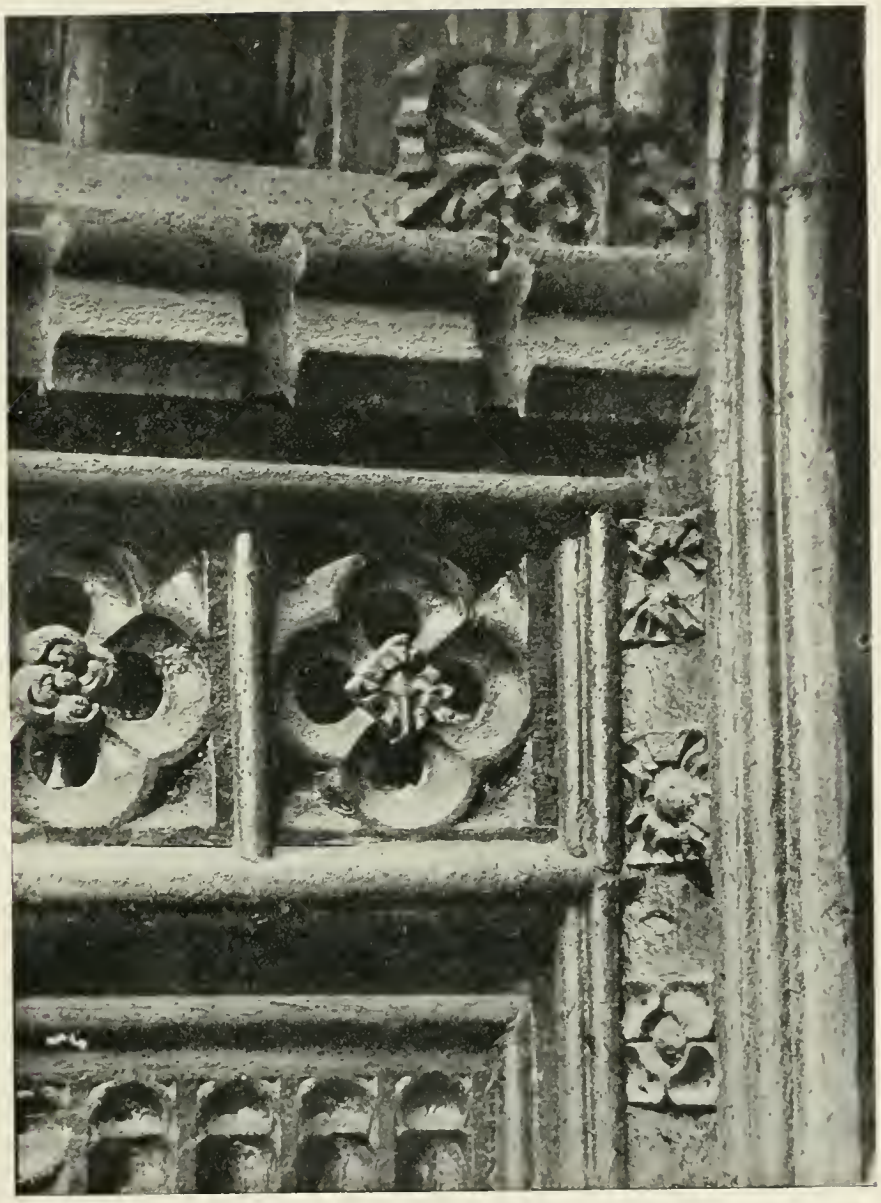
VIEW FROM ST. HELEN'S CHURCHYARD, 1816

EXTERNAL VIEW OF HALL, 1907

HALL AS A RESTAURANT, 1907

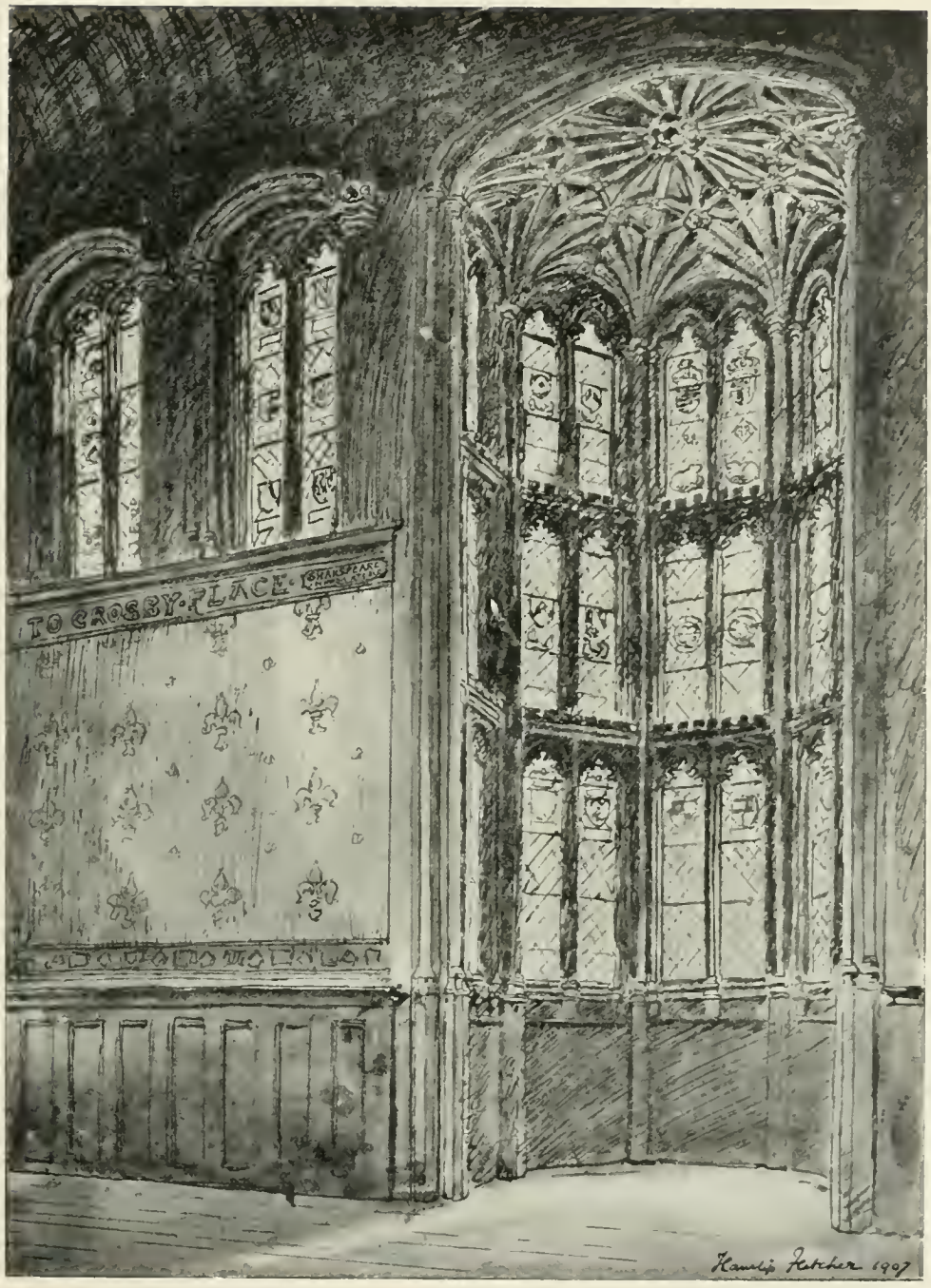


ROOF OF GREAT HALL



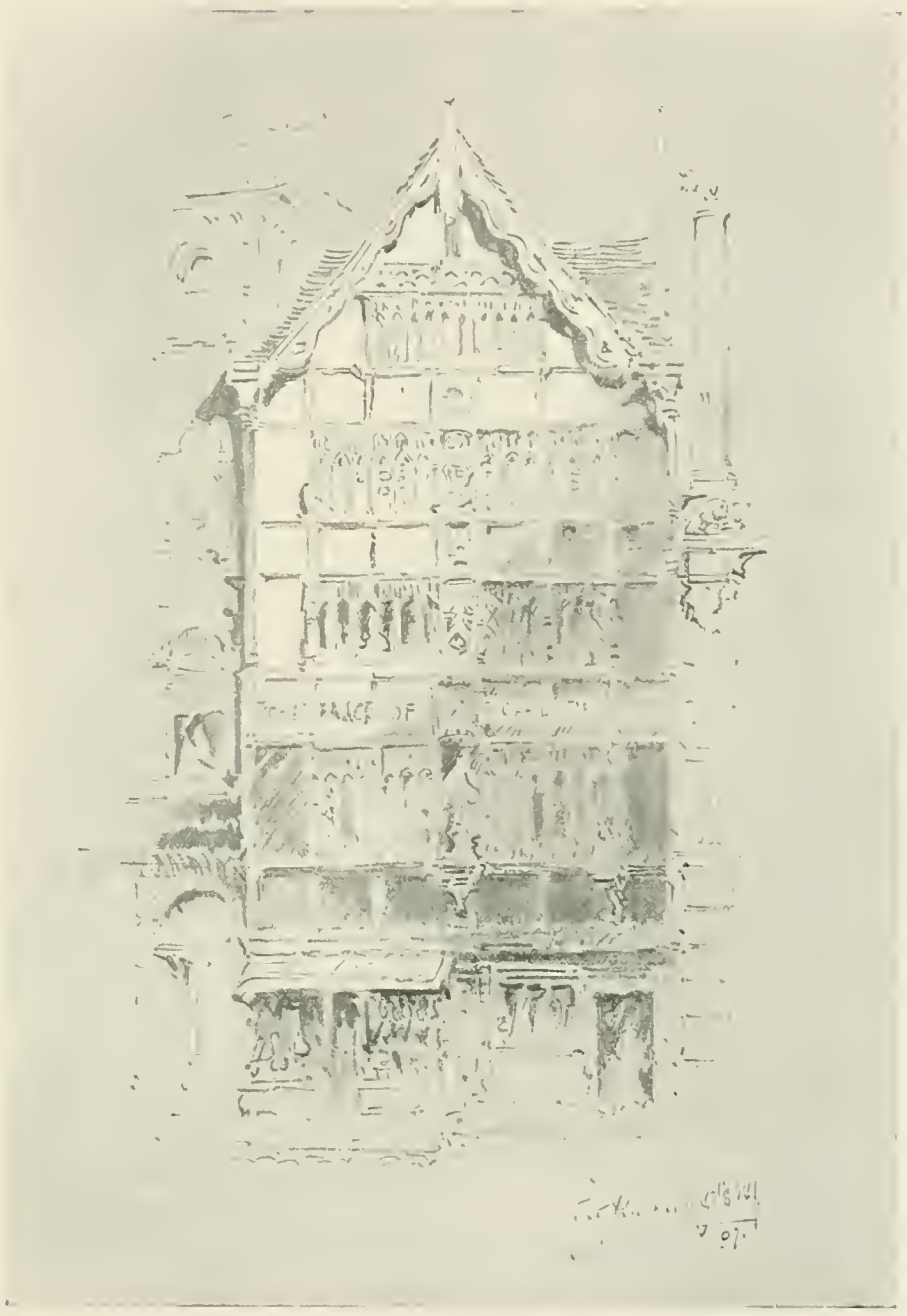
DETAIL OF ROOF OF GREAT HALL

CORBEL OF ROOF AND
PART OF WINDOW IN
GREAT HALL

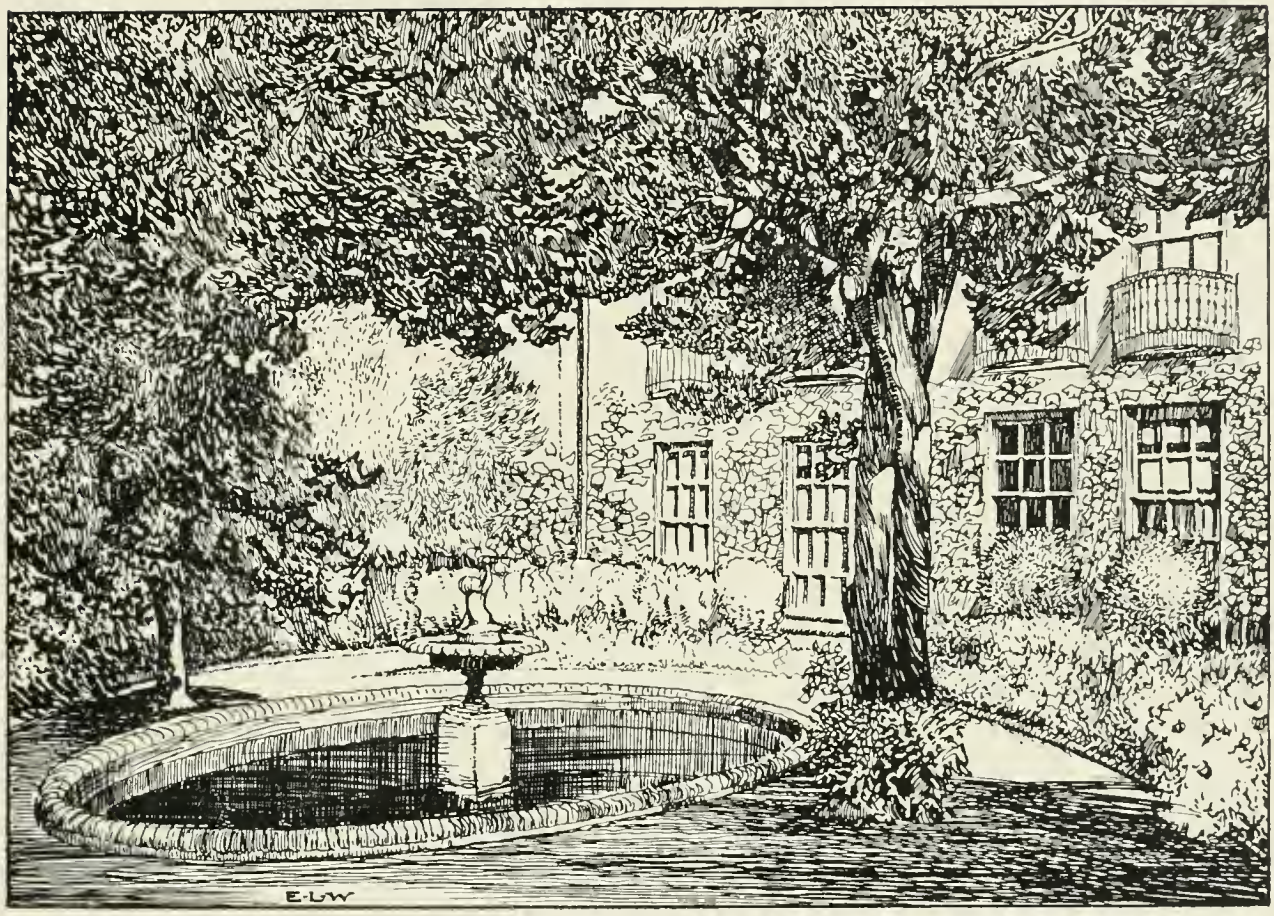


BAY WINDOW IN HALL

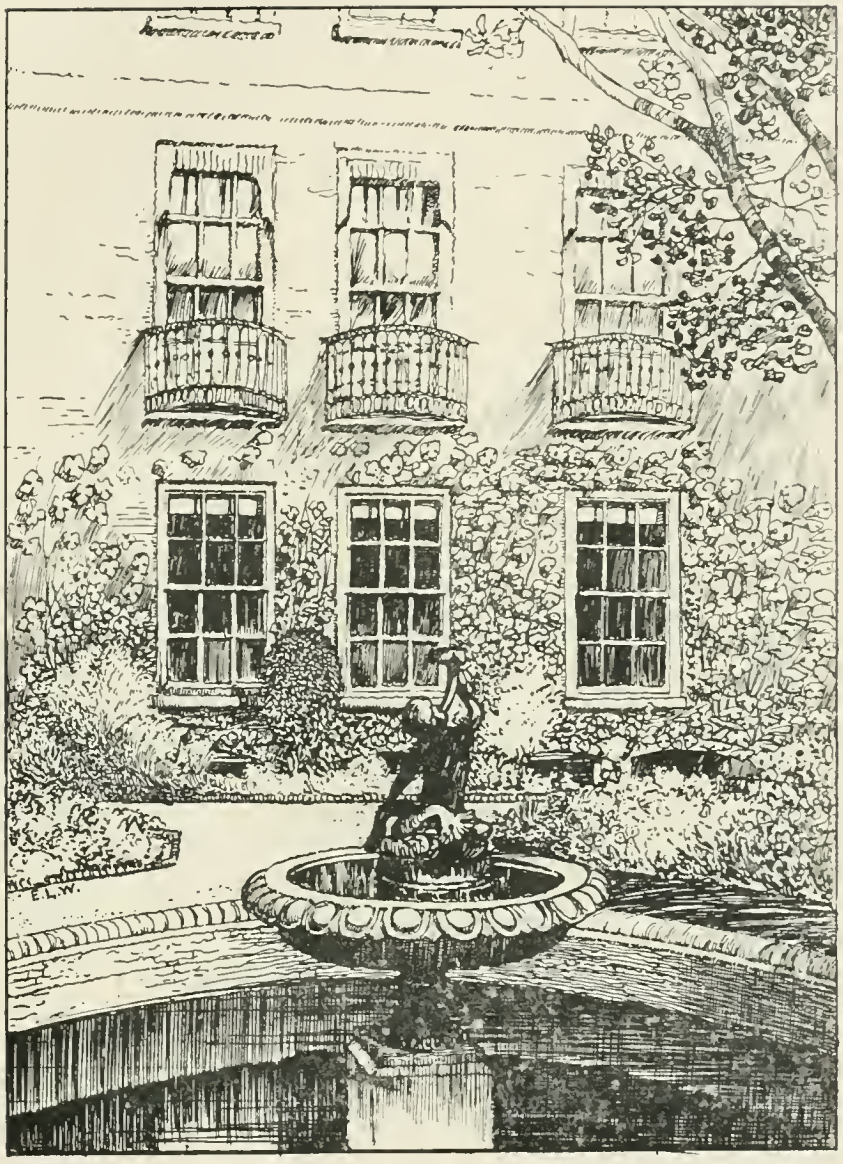
EXTERNAL VIEW OF HALL



MODERN FRONT TO BISHOPSGATE STREET



GARDEN, No. 4, CROSBY SQUARE, 1907



GARDEN, No. 4, CROSBY SQUARE, 1907

A COMPARATIVE AND CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE RECORDS OF THE BUILDINGS OF CROSBY PLACE.

The records

THE unique interest attaching to Crosby Place, always prominent among our city mansions, and till lately their sole survivor, has provided an unfailing subject for the pen of each historian of London, and has persuaded not a few to make it the theme of a special work. Of these accounts by far the most scholarly and complete is that by Edward L. Blackburn, architect, entitled "An Architectural and Historical Account of Crosby Hall," published in 1834, and a careful collation of the several descriptions and drawings establishes the accuracy, and—in points regarding which no certainty is possible—the great probability, of much that he wrote. This, however, applies only to his research among the buildings of which he had cognisance ; for the discoveries of vaults, unknown to Blackburn, by J. Woody Papworth, brother of the well-known Wyatt Papworth, in 1841, have, without damaging his main conclusions, considerably amplified his conjectural general plan. Papworth entered the field of research to prepare for the somewhat fanciful reconstruction of Crosby Place, for which the Royal Institute of British Architects had offered the Soane Medallion, the most coveted of their annual prizes. He succeeded in winning the medal, and his drawings are preserved at the Institute library. With them is an elaborate MS. memoir of Crosby Place, which, in contrast to their purely hypothetical character, is a work of real historical value.

Blackburn

Papworth

Pictorially, Wilkinson in his *Londina Illustrata* (1819) is our best authority, and although he has allowed some slight errors or inconsistencies to appear he is, in the main, unobscured by the rash invention that mars the work of some of his contemporaries. It is true that Wilkinson restores for us the north side of the outer court, but his artist, Frederick Nash—whom Turner declared to be the finest architectural painter of his day—has done this with so much skill, and has, moreover, made so fine a drawing, that we can be nothing but grateful to him. Next to Wilkinson the MS. notes of this same Nash and his friend Valentine Davis in the library of the R.I.B.A. are most important in preserving for us many details of the building as early as 1804, if we may accept the date subsequently written upon the cover in another hand, but these notes are intelligible only to the trained architect and do not give complete information.

Wilkinson

Nash and Davis

Of the others Britton (1813) and Pugin (1825) give us beautiful and elaborate drawings of the principal features, which form a delightful contribution to their record of Gothic architecture, but, unfortunately, they have taken no steps to ensure the complete reliability of their drawings,

Britton, Pugin

and thus, the one by inaccurate details, the other by an ill-considered restoration, has each forfeited his claim to our unqualified gratitude.

Hammon H. J. Hammon (1844) is not to be trusted in regard to the ancient part of the building, and, indeed, it is fair to say that his work does not pretend to any historical accuracy. Beyond further elaborating Papworth's invention, his main purpose was to delineate the restoration of the buildings by John Davies, architect, and in this he had, of course, no difficulty. His book presents us with drawings of the building as it has come down

Carlos to us with fair accuracy. A pamphlet by E. J. Carlos (second edition, 1832), though of a very slight character, furnishes a few useful details;

Malcolm and J. P. Malcolm in his *Londinium Redivivum* (1803), Thos. Allen in his "History of London" (1830), and the several other writers who will be found included in the bibliography, help us in various ways to build up again in imagination the fair mansion which has at length succumbed to its destiny, after more than two centuries of adverse fortune at the hands of the destroyer and the restorer alike.

In the following brief critical examination of the records of the ancient buildings of Crosby Place we shall take Mr. Blackburn's book as our guide, and refer to the other authorities as occasion demands. Blackburn was the first architect to attempt the restoration of the building, beginning in 1836; and even were his arguments not so carefully given, his testimony would necessarily have greatest weight since he was the first expert upon the scene who has given us the full results of his investigation.

Boundaries of the estate At the outset we have to face the most puzzling portion of our task—the delineation of the boundaries of the original estate and the disposition of the main buildings thereon. Blackburn and Hammon have attempted this in somewhat different ways, and although it is impossible to arrive at any final conclusion on points of detail, it is easy to state our small amount of definite information.

The site of Crosby Place belonged to St. Helen's Priory, and occupied a position directly south of the Priory Close in Bishopsgate Street. On the southern portion of this estate stood originally a large mansion in which had lived a Genoese merchant, Cataneo Pinelli; and this house Sir John Crosby leased from the Convent for some time before he acquired the land lying between it and the Close for the purpose of extending his buildings.

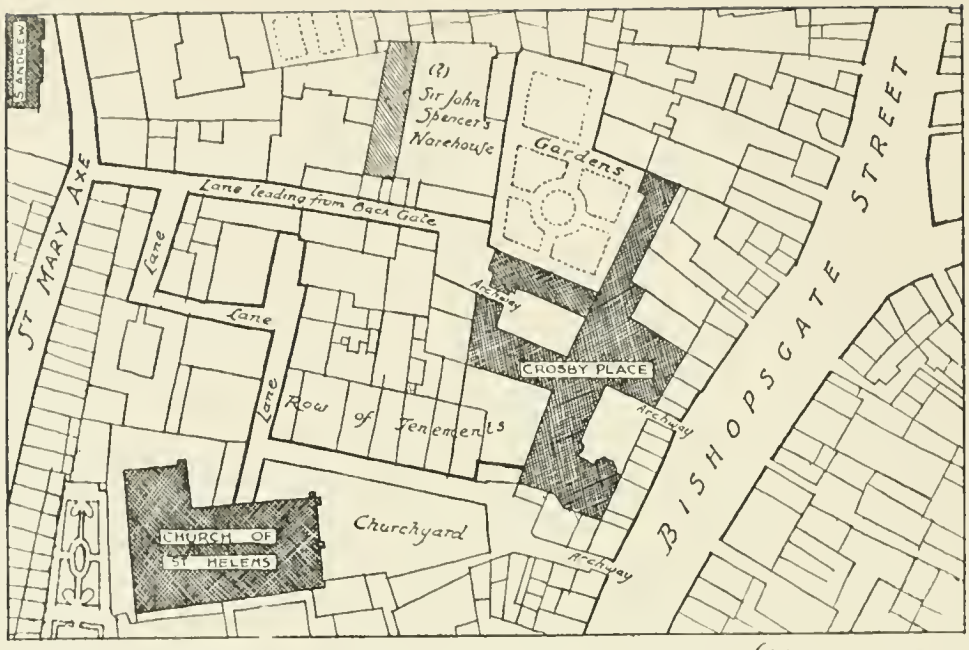
The lease The lease of the first property is not extant, but a copy of the second lease, namely, that of 1466, embodying a very careful description of the new property, is given on page 65. It will be seen that the original estate of Pinelli's is briefly dismissed with words of which these are a translation: "All that tenement with the rooms, 'solars,' cellars, and the garden adjoining and facing the same tenement, and other appurtenances, once in the tenure of Cataneo Pinelli, merchant of Genoa, and then in the tenure of the said John. And which the same John lately held under the lease of Alice Wodehous, late prioress of the house or church aforesaid, and of the Convent of the same place, situate and lying in Bisshoppesgatestrete in the

parish of Saint Helen aforesaid in London." Evidently the boundaries of this property were well known, and it seems probable that they would have been carefully defined in the original lease and therefore were not repeated here. Following the words of the lease we read "together with a certain lane which extends in length from the east gate of the said tenement as far as the corner or south end of a certain small lane turning northwards into the Close of the Priory aforesaid." This takes us to the east gate of Pinelli's house, which remained also the eastern or back entrance to Crosby Place. It was situated either in or very near the position of the east entrance to the present Crosby Square, at the end of the lane which leads to St. Mary Axe. This is made quite clear by a later reference in the same lease as follows: "the aforesaid lane from the said tenement in a straight line as far as a certain road turning south by the church of Saint Andrew in Cornhill, London." The "road" evidently being St. Mary Axe, which turns southward towards St. Andrew Undershaft, to which Cornhill formerly extended.

The lane from the back gate

The first thing that is defined in the lease, therefore, in addition to Pinelli's house, is the lane from the back gate, now part of Great St. Helen's, and possession is given as far as the end of a little lane turning north into St. Helen's Close. Blackburn and Hammon have both attempted to identify a passage which is said to have passed through No. 6, Great St. Helen's, and to have led immediately behind Crosby Square to the east gate, as this "little lane," the former citing Horwood's map of 1799, which indicates part of this way, to support his view. This forced interpretation of the lease presumably originated in the effort to make the later limits of the estate coincide with the earlier; but there can be little doubt that the words as they stand point to that part of Great St. Helen's, which does, in fact, turn north into the Priory Close. The lease later on gives Crosby the right of way through the whole length of the lane into St. Mary Axe, but here it distinctly gives him possession as far as the little lane that turns northwards into the Close. The other interpretation in making the east gate the termination of both lanes deprives of meaning the words "usqu' ad cornerum sive finem, etc." and also makes unnecessary the subsequent paragraph in which the prioress stipulates that the inhabitants of the Priory shall be allowed free passage through the lane and apparently through the estate to Bishopsgate Street. The "little lane," or that part of Great St. Helen's which runs between Bishopsgate Street and St. Mary Axe, was an ancient thoroughfare leading from both sides to the parish church, and it is on record that the nuns frequently attempted to destroy the right of way.* The lane could scarcely have

* "*The Nuns endeavoured, during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., to stop up the lane or passage through the court of their House, from Bishopsgate Street to S. Mary Axe. In the thirty-third year of the former King they*



SKETCH PLAN DRAWN FROM MAP BY OGILBY AND MORGAN, 1677. W. H. G.

assumed its present strange course had it not bounded some valuable private land.

Boundary in Bishopsgate Street

Immediately after describing this lane, which is carefully included in each recitation of the property, the lease proceeds to Bishopsgate Street and defines the north-western limits of the estate. The description is in such detail and so clear that it can be summarised as follows without fear of dispute. From the north wall of Pinelli's house (against which the front gateway of Crosby Place was afterwards built, in the precise situation of the present entrance to Crosby Square) six houses are described in Bishopsgate Street, until we reach the Priory Close. The Close was entered through an archway, above which was a belfry (campanile), and

obtained a licence to include a lane lying across their ground, inasmuch as it had been found by inquest that no damage would accrue to the citizens of London. The licence was dated at Westminster, the 24th March, 33 Henry III., 1248–9. (*Pat. 33 Hen. III. m. 7.*) *Some resistance, as it appears, was made to this inclusion, for in several subsequent inquests the jurors describe the lane as a common thoroughfare, from the Gate of the Nuns of S. Elen to the Church of S. Mary at Axe, called 'Seint Eleyne Lane,' through which there was always in ancient times a common passage for carts and horsemen, as well as for foot-passengers.* (*Rot. Hundred*, i., 409, 410, 420, 425, 426, 431.) *Their obstruction was at least partially successful, and as such has descended to our own time. There is still no thoroughfare for carriages.*"—"*The Last Ten Years of the Priory of St. Helen Bishopsgate.*" *Rev. Thomas Hugo. 8vo. Lond.*, 1865.

SKETCH PLAN, DRAWN FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY, 1894. W. H. G.

just within the Close, adjoining the gateway and the last of the six houses, was a seventh house formerly tenanted by a widow named Katherine Catesby. Blackburn states that the sixth house in Bishopsgate Street projected beyond the gate about ten feet; the site was afterwards occupied by the "White Lion" public-house, which existed in his day. The lease states, furthermore, that the boundary line extended eastwards 58 feet and a half in a direct line from the outer angle of the belfry, past Katherine Catesby's house, and enclosed an adjacent piece of vacant land, round which it turned southward to a house formerly tenanted by Robert Smyth. This last, together with another house in the tenancy of Sir John Crosby himself, is mentioned as being within the Close. These make up the total of nine houses (novem messuagios) of the lease.

Boundary towards the Close of St. Helen's

Here our information ceases, and there have been several attempts to trace the remaining confines of the property, none of which, however, are convincing. In view of the scrupulous care with which this small corner of the estate has been described in the lease it would seem plausible to suppose that from the last two houses (which are situated jointly within the Close) the outline of the property would follow that of the Close itself, which would be well known and clearly defined, returning round Great St. Helen's to the east gate already mentioned. We know, however, from the conventual leases that there were several houses in the Close, and one of these must almost certainly have been within the portion just described. The last act of the prioress and nuns before the dissolution was to let this house to the then tenant of Crosby Hall—Antonio Bonvisi—in these terms (quoted from the confirmation of the lease by Edward VI.

in 1547) : "AND ALSO all that tenement or chamber with all cellars upper chambers, and other appurtenances situate and being in a certain alley below the close of the said late Priory constructed and built over the 'larder howse' and the 'cole-howse' of the said tenement called Crosbyes Place, once in the tenure of Juliana* Francys." The alley is mentioned in several leases and is in all likelihood the same as the parva venella of Crosby's Latin lease. If, then, there were houses bordering on the Close† and continuing along the lane, the boundary of Crosby Place would pass at their rear. This point will be further discussed in reference to the plan of the buildings.

Southern limits of estate

It remains, then, to seek the extent of the southern and original portion of the estate, that belonging to Pinelli's house. Starting from the East Gate, Blackburn considers that the boundary line "returned almost at right angles to the west about 43 feet and then extended due south," following thus the eastern wall of the house and garden of No. 4, Crosby Square, the only spot, by the way, on the whole estate that preserved till the past year (1907) something of its ancient natural beauty. We shall refer to this last of the city gardens again, but its interest at this point consists in its east and south walls having formed the south-east limit of Crosby Place, the south wall being also the parish boundary. Ogilby and Morgan's map (1677) shows this quite plainly as part of the gardens of Crosby Place, and seems also to suggest that they are contained within its west wall, along which the parish boundary turns northwards before it resumes its westerly course to Bishopsgate Street. If the limit of Crosby Place was that of the parish boundary it would pass down the site of the north wall of the Wesleyan Centenary Hall (lately rebuilt), to which point the vaults of the house are said to have reached. Blackburn and Hammon, however, continue the line of the south garden wall, and in confirmation of this it may be said that during recent excavations at this point a mediæval wall of good rubble, 3 feet thick, was found, extending from the present ground level to a depth of some 14 feet of made earth, which apparently continued in a straight line both east and west of the garden. The south wall was on the old foundation, and the east and west walls were found to be upon the site of cross walls of less size but of similar date, the former being of some length, as we should expect from the above description of the property. Whichever line it followed the boundary of the site seems to have approached Bishopsgate Street within some 30 or 40 feet, and to have returned to the great house in an irregular course behind the houses which bordered the highway.

Such was in all probability the estate leased by Sir John Crosby in 1466,

* *In other leases the tenant is called Julian.*

† *The very interesting survey of the Priory by the officers of Henry VIII. given by Hugo would lead one to suppose that the Close did not possess*

and immediately afterwards he planned his new buildings with (in his own words) "great and notable cost," including those apartments which have remained to us, for the greater part in their original extent and *in situ*, although restored and modified in various ways.

Remains of original house of Cataneo Pinelli

The house formerly tenanted by Cataneo Pinelli, has been mentioned above as reaching the southern part of the entrance now leading from Bishopsgate Street to Crosby Square. In support of this statement we have not only the words of the lease which describes the land from the front of the house, along the street towards the Priory, but the record of the existence until quite recently of a vault in this position which had unmistakeable evidence of a date prior to Crosby's building (*see* Plate No. 14). All the other vaults which have remained in their original state were formed of elliptical brick arches, but this vault was built with stone ribs in two quadripartite bays, the web being of chalk. Furthermore, the apartment above this, of which considerable portions existed in Blackburn's day, was not of the same dimensions as the vault, being several feet less in length. This room on the ground floor was of the date of Crosby's building and formed its south wing, being brought into line with the north wing which contained the great parlour. Sir John Crosby appears thus to have pulled down the northern portion of Pinelli's house and rebuilt it further from the street. In the "Plans and Particulars of Crosby Hall Estate" (1871) this vault is described as in two portions, one part belonging to No. 1, Crosby Square, the other to No. 28, Bishopsgate Street. It was finally destroyed in June, 1899, when the existing business premises were built.*

Plan of Crosby Place

From the south wing northward the whole building was evidently of Crosby's planning, and he arranged his new rooms on three sides of an outer courtyard, without interfering with the houses in Bishopsgate Street. The principal range of buildings which formed the east side of this court was projected northwards towards the Priory Close (from which there was a side entrance), and it evidently stretched also some considerable distance toward the south, as indicated by the vaults shown in Wilkinson's plan (Plate 14) and corroborated by Papworth. In Ogilby and Morgan's map (1677) the southern line of buildings is clearly shown, and since the vaults are described as of brick and of the same character as the others, it seems likely that they were Sir John Crosby's work. This remark applies also to the vaults discovered by Papworth between the eastern range of buildings and the street (*see* plan). It is more than likely

buildings on the south side, being "environed w^th^ edificyons and buyldings" only on the north.

* *See "Notes and Queries," 9th Series, Vol. III., pp.* 367, 431. *On the former page the vaulting is wrongly described as being on the* left *side of Crosby Hall, in place of the right. See also "Daily Graphic," 15 June,* 1899.

that the greater part of Pinelli's house was taken down, although it is possible that a somewhat similar arrangement was again adopted to avoid excavation, and the two small courtyards are perhaps a correct indication of the earlier house. We may note here that the vault D which appears detached in Wilkinson is almost certainly not intended to be in its correct relation to the rest of the buildings. Papworth identifies it with the portion marked D on plan 19, and since the dimensions tally, this seems a reasonable conclusion. In the conjectural plan published with this, an attempt has been made to harmonise the information contained in the plans of Wilkinson and Papworth, and the published "Particulars of the Crosby Hall Estate," since parts of these are mutually destructive.

When we pass on to the area which lies east of the principal range, we are confronted with many difficulties. It is here that Crosby Square now stands, and all traces of the former buildings have been long obliterated. We consult Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677, but find nothing that can help us to form any clear judgment, and our investigation turns upon little more than a balance of probabilities. In by far the larger number of mediæval plans the great hall divides the inner and outer courtyards, the communication between which is effected by a passage screened from one end of the hall. As we shall see later on, the passage and screen no doubt existed in the hall of Crosby Place, but it is very doubtful whether there was another courtyard directly east of this. Blackburn and Hammon both imply that the reason was the proximity of the boundary line which latterly touched the east wall of the hall, but the former writer concedes the possibility of a different limit which should admit of the projection of the north-west wing backwards in an easterly direction. It seems, however, improbable that this was the case. It must be remembered that Sir John Crosby's buildings were merely an extension of an existing building, and their main object undoubtedly was to add fitting state apartments to an already large mansion. If we were to expect to find here the orthodox plan, we should require the first or outer courtyard to be surrounded by the offices, but instead we find it enclosed by the best rooms of the place. This irregularity may have been due to its position within the city walls, since town houses tend partly to reverse the plans of the country mansion, in placing their important front towards the street; but, however this may be, it makes the task of reconstruction more than ever conjectural. The unbroken range of windows along the east wall of the hall shows that no wing on that side could have been built of any height, although the raised sills of the two extreme northern lights would admit of something low. The adjoining building, however, which necessitated the raising of these windows was probably a part of one of the two houses in the Close mentioned in the lease. These do not appear to have been pulled down by Sir John Crosby, since they are again expressly mentioned in the grant of Crosby Place to Antonio Bonvisi by Henry VIII.,

and also in subsequent leases: a reference to the plan will show how closely they must have approached to the side.

The inner courtyard

There is, however, evidence for an inner court, further south, though perhaps erected after the hall. A mediæval wall at the south end of the hall continued eastward, and some portion, on the authority of Blackburn, remains under No. 8, Crosby Square. Blackburn takes this to be the north wall of the northern range of the court, but Hammon, following Papworth, makes it the south wall. The latter view, which would place the range much in the position of the present houses of the Square, seems to be refuted by the fact that it would block the southern hall windows and the light to the vault, which latter still remains and is shown correctly in Wilkinson's plan. On the other hand, Ogilby and Morgan's map shows a building very much in this position—indeed, it indicates a complete courtyard considerably smaller than the present square, the buildings around which are shaded with the cross-hatching that marks the rest of Crosby Place. If this were so, Blackburn's conjectural wing would have lain in the centre of the yard, which could scarcely have been unless this part of the house was entirely rebuilt. The testimony of the map must, however, be received with caution, since it obviously does not show the south wing of the outer courtyard in its original form. The map is dated 1677, and the fire which demolished so much of this part of the house occurred not later than 1676, and very possibly earlier. It is uncertain, then, whether Ogilby's survey was made before this catastrophe, and even if correct it is quite possible that it shows buildings erected after Sir John Crosby's tenancy.

The east gate

The only portion of the building on this side which survived the construction of the Square was the east or back gate, which was apparently an isolated gateway, some 50 feet away from the eastern courtyard. This gateway existed in its original position till early in the last century — for the engraving in Wilkinson, although showing a later archway (erected probably at the time of the building of the Square) indicates the stone jambs of an earlier opening. Carlos mentions the fact of its removal, and the substitution of a "bressummer" or beam, and from this and the words of Crosby's lease we should locate it in the present position of the eastern opening to the Square. Ogilby and Morgan's map does not show the gate, but indicates a small space into which the lane opens.

ARCHWAY FORMERLY BENEATH EAST SIDE OF CROSBY SQUARE. FROM WILKINSON.

The gardens

The south side of the courtyard Blackburn considers to have been enclosed merely by a wall, and it may be mentioned that the buildings which Ogilby shows here are separated by a line from the main block, which may indicate a comparatively modern addition. It is pretty certain that further south lies the site of the gardens of Crosby Place, and in all likelihood the inner court looked out upon these. Here is situated No. 4, Crosby Square, sold by the Freemans in the early seventies of last century. It was built some years after the formation of the Square and still contains a delightful staircase with good carving of the period. This house possessed until the autumn of last year (1907) a beautiful little garden with a water basin and fountain, marked on the Ordnance map. There is a certain mournful appropriateness in the disappearance of this last relic of natural beauty, with its picturesque thorn and fig trees, only just before the destruction of the great hall itself. (Plates 16, 17.)

The outer courtyard

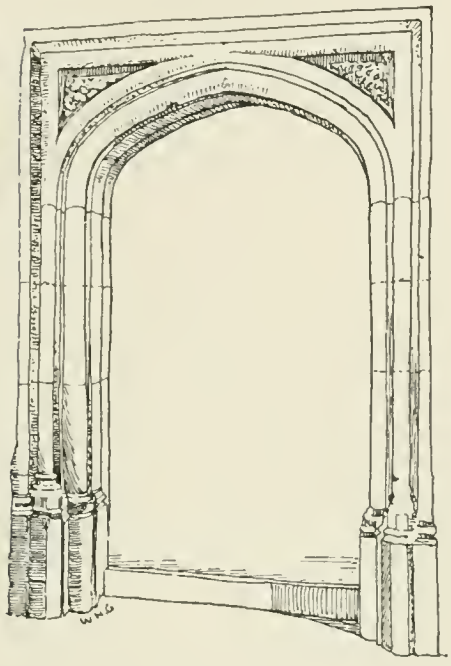
It is some relief to turn from the uncertainties of long-forgotten boundaries to the more tangible remains which we have seen so lately, and of which we have records. The outer courtyard of Crosby Place is, as we have shown, clearly defined. Not only have we plans of the vaults beneath the north, east, and south ranges of buildings, but in Blackburn's day the whole of these walls existed either intact or in part above ground, and their dimensions are given by Nash and Davis. The wall also that bounded the western side of the court, dividing it from Bishopsgate Street, was to be seen at the back of the houses there. To quote Blackburn : "It still goes up as high as the parapet of the hall, and is faced with squared stone, of the same description as that used in other external portions of the building, but shows no openings towards the court." The entrance to the courtyard was at the southern end of this wall, through the "foregate" (mentioned thus in the lease to Alderman Wm. Bond), which stood against the wall of the south wing. As the visitor approached he saw right in front of him the main doorway of the great hall, this latter stretching across the whole east side of the court ; to his left were the state rooms—the great parlour below and the great chamber above—and to his right the large apartment, which it has been conjectured was the private chapel. The most prominent features of these buildings were the two bay windows, running the full height of the structure, the one being the chief ornament of the hall itself, the other belonging to the great parlour and the room above. Between these two bays, which were some 15 feet apart, was the curious postern leading from the court into the great parlour. Nash, in the beautiful engraving published by Wilkinson, has essayed to restore for us the appearance of this angle of the building, and although we may hesitate to accept his restoration of the great parlour bay, it is evident that in the spacing and form of the windows he is but following

The "foregate"

The postern and bay window of great parlour

what was almost certainly the original design. It is quite possible, too, that he had authority for the drawing of the bay, since Wilkinson expressly says that this was taken down thirty years previously and built on to an adjoining house to form a staircase, and Nash may have owed his details to a special examination of this staircase, supposing it to have been then in existence. We are inclined to attach more weight to this supposition since he publishes another drawing of the interior of the great parlour and chamber showing the bay. In view of Wilkinson's clear statement in 1816, we may safely set aside Hammon's remark in 1844 that this bay was removed to the dairy at Fawley Court, Bucks, the residence of Mr. Freeman, sometime owner of Crosby Hall. A careful inspection of the dairy reveals only an arched doorway of fifteenth century work, and this corroborates Wilkinson, who says that certain portions of ornamental stonework were removed by Mr. Freeman for this purpose. Blackburn mentions the plinth and foundation of the bay as still standing and "projecting into the kitchen of the house built in the forecourt," and even from Ogilby and Morgan's plan we can see that Nash cannot be far wrong.

Doorway removed to Fawley Court



DOORWAY FROM CROSBY HALL NOW PART OF THE DAIRY AT FAWLEY COURT, BUCKS.

We are, however, anticipating our investigation of the interior of the building, which shall be taken in detail in its turn. Before we leave Nash's drawing it may be noted that Blackburn taxes him with having omitted the postern in his view. It is pretty certain, however, that the bay window of the hall hides the door; and, indeed, a close examination of the print will show that the postern has not altogether escaped his pencil.

Between these two bay windows Blackburn describes the foundation of a curious wall (*see* plan) which stood some 6 feet from the north wall of the court, and enclosed the immediate space into which the postern opened. If this was in reality an original wall as Blackburn states, his conjecture is perfectly feasible that it formed a cloistered porch to the postern, being constructed probably as an open screen, the mouldings of which joined the centre mullion of the hall bay. Since this particular mullion had perished before Blackburn's day he is unable to give any further evidence on the point.

The porch to postern

The apartment occupying the south wing is marked as the chapel on

The south wing

Papworth's plan, but Blackburn contents himself with the label "appropriation uncertain." The supposition that this was the chapel is based upon three slender considerations. In the first place the room is roughly orientated, although the eastern end is inconveniently attached to the main building. In the second place the groined stonework in the crypt has already been mentioned in contrast to the brick vaults under the rest of the house. Thirdly, a certain number of encaustic tiles were discovered in the vault of a similar character to those used in ecclesiastical buildings. Against these arguments we have to point out that the portions of the room remaining in the early years of last century do not strengthen the idea of ecclesiastical purpose.

The "angel" corbel

Nash and Davis have given a plan of the room showing a door and details of the curious double window in its south wall, and Blackburn corroborates with a description of the window which he saw still *in situ* in the parlour of a Mr. Colley's house, erected on this very place. The arch mouldings of the two lights of this window rested, in the centre, upon a corbel carved in the form of an angel, of which Nash and Davis give a sketch. This corbel was evidently secured by Mr. Lewis N. Cottingham for his famous museum in the Waterloo Road, since the catalogue of the sale of the contents in 1850 has the following: "Lot 992. A moulded and panelled corbel from Crosby Hall; and one of the same character terminating with an angel supporting a shield." Blackburn concludes that the room was some 14 feet high, approximating to the height of the great parlour, and that it had a story above it. This, if correct, together with the character of the windows, makes it unlikely that the apartment was designed as a chapel, although it may have been used as such. The ribbed stone vault may be attributed, with a greater show of probability, to the earlier building of Pinelli, as discussed above, and it must be added that the encaustic tiles, unfortunately for the argument, were not found here alone but also in the great hall and the adjoining room.*

FROM A DRAWING BY FREDERICK NASH.

Staircase from vaults

On the south side of the groined vault Wilkinson's plan shows a stairway, entered by a door, which led to the buildings east of the apartment above, but his view, taken from the doorway marked B on his plan, shows a flight of steps beginning on the right—that is, north. Although these appear to be modern and are not shown on the plan, yet their position seems to tally with a statement of Blackburn's, which other-

* *Rev. Chas. Mackenzie*, "*Crosby Place described in a Lecture.*" 1842.

wise stands alone and unproved. He says, speaking of this south wing: "Indications of a bay or oriel similar to that of the north range also occur; though it would also seem to have formed a staircase turret from the fact that at about its probable situation the two or three last steps of a stone staircase leading to the vaults under Mr. Colley's house were discovered during some alterations there. The bottom step was in a small arched doorway opening in the north wall of the vault. It may be conjectured that this staircase led from the rooms on the upper floor to the courtyard and foregate or downwards to the cellars." In this case the outer courtyard would contain three octagonal projections, one on each of the three sides, and with the rows of beautifully proportioned windows must have been a scene of great charm when the southern sun lit the two bays, and heightened that quality of richness so characteristic of our Gothic mansions.

VIEW OF GROINED VAULT. FROM WILKINSON.

VIEW OF VAULTS TAKEN FROM POINT MARKED A ON PLAN (PLATE 14). FROM WILKINSON.

Entrance to hall

The main entrance to the house follows the usually observed custom, in being placed at the end of the hall, and in opening upon a passage divided from the hall itself by a screen. All trace of the entrance has, however, been swept away, and the south wall was entirely rebuilt, apparently at the same time as No. 8, Crosby Square, since the brickwork is of similar date (17th century). The position of the original south wall is shown by the end of the vault in Wilkinson's plan*; the position of the screen, by the termination of the roof, which was certainly never carried further than the pier between the second and third windows of the hall. The section through the hall (Plate 28) should be consulted, and it will be seen that the first and second windows are separated only by a stone pier, which does not admit of the corbel placed between the other windows for the purpose of supporting the roof principals. The fact that clinches the matter is that the last truss—between the second and third window—is moulded on one side only, and must, therefore, have been placed

The position of screen and extent of roof

**The measured drawings do not show this correctly, since the long vault under the hall has evidently been shortened at the north end.*

against a wall which occupied the position of the modern arched screen shown in the drawings. The modern brick wall immediately below this is thus in the probable position of the earlier wooden screen, over which would be the ancient gallery. Indeed, the timbers which are being taken down at the time of writing from the floor over the archway into Crosby Square are almost certainly the original timbers of the gallery floor. They are much worm-eaten and measure 15 inches by 7 inches in thickness. Whether the south wall originally possessed the three usual doorways to the buttery, kitchen, &c. cannot of course be ascertained, but we may assume that this was the first intention. Subsequently, perhaps immediately after the erection of the hall, the east wing was built, and in it must have been placed the kitchen and offices, since it is difficult to see in what other part could have been situated the "larder-howse" and "cole-howse" adjoining the tenement which has already been mentioned as leased to Bonvisi. It is a little curious that this wing, having a south aspect and a view towards the gardens, should be devoted to such minor domestic uses, but no doubt the rooms on the first floor formed part of the suites of sleeping apartments.

The gallery

Wall adjoining No. 8, Crosby Square

A lease, dated April 17th, 1679 (in the possession of the writer), refers to the building of the two houses on the north side of Crosby Square, the first of which is evidently No. 8 now adjoining the east end of the passage that formerly passed beyond the screen of the hall. This house extends some distance along the east wall and blocks two of the windows north of the screen. These windows were not destroyed but merely converted into blank panels, and the stone wall was left untouched. Southwards from the screen, however, the wall was taken down and rebuilt in brickwork, and it is impossible to tell whether there was a repetition on this side of the two double windows separated by a mullion which occur on the west. Britton in his elevation inserts these windows, but omits the doorway below that would almost certainly have led, in the first instance to the open air, and latterly to the east wing. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1834, Part I., p. 400), who was living in No. 8, Crosby Square at the time, in the course of certain comments on Mr. Blackburn's book, states that these two windows still existed in the walls of his house, but he is evidently under a misapprehension and must refer to the two adjoining windows, since the wall at this point has been entirely rebuilt with 17th century bricks.

The hall

The hall itself, that is to say, the portion covered by the original roof, has come down to us exactly as Sir John Crosby left it, with the exception of the renewal of a few details. The ornamental roof never extended beyond the eight bays shown on the drawings, since the extreme principal on the north, like that on the south, is moulded on one side only. There seem, however, to be signs of the continuation of ordinary roof timbers at the same height and pitch, and this is quite possible since the building

at the north end was certainly two, perhaps three, storeys in height. On the north, therefore, the roof must have terminated against the stone wall which divided the hall from these apartments; fragments only of the wall existed when Britton made his plan in 1813. On the south, as already described, it finished against what was probably a wooden screen, in which was the opening to the gallery and the passage below. The position of the double window and the character of the wall make it certain that the gallery was open to the hall.

The fireplace and louvre

The main features of the beautiful hall have been fully described by Mr. Caröe in another part of this volume. There are, however, one or two controversial points which must be noticed. It is impossible to demonstrate conclusively whether the fireplace was inserted when the hall was built, but its setting had every appearance of being original. The existence of the louvre, and the fact that the eight windows in the east wall are equidistant from one another, leaving barely room for a flue, lend colour to the suggestion that it was a later insertion. On the other hand, the character of the fireplace here and of that in the adjoining room agree with the hall in date, and it would hardly be remarkable that the louvre should be inserted as well. The spacing of the windows was dependent entirely on the bays of the roof, and it is not surprising if much ingenuity were exercised to diminish the chimney stack till it would pass within the narrow space between them.

In a lecture on Crosby Place, afterwards printed (1842), the Rev. Chas. Mackenzie states that a different kind of stone was used in the paving beneath the louvre. Mr. Blackburn, however, says: "There is no appearance of a hearth in the paving, which retains its original arrangement." We will not attempt to reconcile these statements; but even supposing that the paving were original and that the position for a hearth were marked by a different stone, it is possible that this was merely the prevalent custom, or provision for a contingency that might at any time occur, in which the old methods could be resumed.

The paving

The design of the paving, in small diagonal squares, traversed by straight bands, apparently of Purbeck marble, is well shown on the engraving from Wilkinson—and it will be seen that it covers the whole surface of the floor to the north wall, from which point the view is drawn.

The daïs

In the 15th century we should expect to find here a raised daïs, which would include the fireplace on the left, the bay window and doorway on the right. Blackburn, however, failed to find any trace of the daïs, the reason for which may be that it was formed of wood in order that it might be removed on occasion. Edward S. Prior, in his "History of Gothic Art in England," refers to the decline in the 15th century of the custom of dining in the great hall, with the whole household, and the size of the adjoining "great parlour" suggests that the new fashion obtained here. The north end of the hall, on the other hand, is clearly designed for the accommodation of the principal personages,

otherwise the bay window would never have been placed in its somewhat confined position against the return wing. It is not unlikely, too, that the raised sills of the windows were occasioned by the use of tapestry and hangings to adorn this end of the hall. Blackburn says that the remaining wall surface was "worked fair" from the roof to the level of the window sills, and that below this, as far as the floor, it was plastered to receive tapestry. The original plaster he described as "still nearly perfect."

Wall surface

Regarding the beautiful bay window or oriel on the west side of the hall, the reader is referred to the careful measured drawings on Plate 33 and to Mr. Caröe's notes. The stonework is original, with the exception of various repairs and the restoration of those lights that were destroyed to afford an entrance to the upper part of the hall when it was divided into two storeys in the 18th century. Carter's fine engraving (Plate 2) shows how this was effected, but it will be observed that the upper lights were not in any way impaired; and it is thus very strange to find Pugin erring in his detail of this window. The cusping of the two lower lights is enclosed with a square moulding, and is enriched with subsidiary cusps in all but two of the curves of the cinquefoil; but in the upper part of the window, where each pair of lights is drawn under the curve of one arch, the cusping remains simple and of the same pattern as the other windows of the hall. Pugin, however, repeats the enriched form in his detail of the upper lights and gives a totally different effect. In addition to this, his section through the mullion is incorrect, and he omits the lowest of the three "set-offs" to the external buttresses, the bay window being the only part of the building in which buttresses occur. In the absence of Blackburn's evidence these differences might have been set down to unskilful "restoration," but his definite testimony sets the matter at rest, and we must conclude that Pugin's drawings were made from incomplete and imperfect data.

Bay window in hall

It has been already stated that we have no particulars of the north wall of the hall, it having been destroyed before any records were made. The plan of the room, however, and of the passage adjoining it on the north, can be defined not only from the walls of the vaults, but from what remained of the external and divisional walls. There was an entrance here from the Priory Close, shown on Plate 7, and this doorway, largely restored, remained in its original position till the last. The three square-headed lights shown above the door were evidently an insertion of the 16th century, and were replaced by arched heads in the restoration of John Davies. The door and window as they appeared in 1832 form the subject of the frontispiece to Blackburn's book, and the mouldings are given by Hammon. This door led into a passage or vestibule which communicated, on the left with the room to the north of the hall, on the right with the great parlour. From the Rev. Chas. Mackenzie's description it seems probable that there was evidence for the positions of these

Apartments to the north of hall

Entrance from the Priory Close

doorways, as shown on Britton's plan. He says that the one leading to the great parlour was carefully preserved, and the other is clearly shown by Wilkinson (Plate 7). It is likely that one of the doorways was that removed to Fawley Court, and shown on page 43. Whether there was a door from the passage, leading directly into the hall, is uncertain. Britton shows this blocked up. There would probably, however, be some entrance from the hall to the north room, and thence by the passage to the outside door. The room itself must have been a private ante-room, but nothing remained to show its character or that of the apartments over it. The north wall had been so far demolished that Wilkinson was unable to give us any indication, in his sketch of this end, of the nature of the window, the position of which he shows by an irregular opening.

Apartments adjoining the great parlour

Before discussing the details of the great parlour and great chamber, which occupied the north-west wing, it may perhaps be well to consider two rooms which adjoined its north wall and projected outwards towards the Close. The foundations of these are partly shown on Wilkinson's plan of the vaults. Papworth states that they were modern additions and Wilkinson shows no remains of them above ground in his north view. We have, however, very conclusive testimony to their early date, although they were perhaps not part of the first plan, since the external angle to which they were built has retained its original stones, and the ancient wall shows no trace of further extension. Blackburn says of this : "The angle at the north termination of the hall is a perfectly quoined angle and certainly extended no further than 7 ft. 9 ins. from the north wall of the throne room [great chamber]. It is still perfect as high as any of the old work can be traced, which is almost 32 feet." The information which we have, regarding the two rooms, is contained in the deed of sale of Crosby Place by Germain Cioll and his wife to William Bond in 1566 (now in the Bishopsgate Institute), of which mention has been made on a previous page. We have seen that they then retained four tenements. They also kept possession of "one chambre lyinge on the north side of the wall of bricke and stone of the great chambre, which great chambre is over and above the greate parlour of the saied Crosbies Place conteyninge from the saied wall of bricke and stone northward twentie foote of assise and from the west part thereof to the east two and twentie foote of assise; and all the rowmes under the same to the maen grounde and a garret directlie on the same chambre adjoyninge likewise to the wall of bricke and stone aforesaid—and likewise excepted and reserved one little garret or loft conteyninge about twelve foote square adjoyninge to the east ende of the said garret last mentioned *directlie on the toppe of the staires leadinge up to the greate chambre of the saied Crosbies Place*." The dimensions stated here tally exactly with those shown on the foundations in Wilkinson's plan, and the position of the rooms is so precisely stated that there is no difficulty in placing them as shown on our conjectural plan and marked R and S. These

additions were probably in half-timberwork, the portion S being three storeys at least in height, and the part R containing the staircase with a room over it in the roof. The site of the latter was recently occupied by an office and rooms over, approximately of the size of the earlier building (*see* Plates 24, 25). Britton indicates the walls of the staircase in his plan, but the stairs which he shows are probably conjectural. That the original staircase was in this position is beyond doubt since the doorway in the external wall of the upper room or great chamber remained *in situ*, a drawing of it being given by Hammon, who shows it moulded inside and plain outside, besides which a second door opened on to this same space from the upper apartment to the north of the hall through the return wall. Of this Blackburn says: "The latter door and that of the throne room [great chamber], although within 3 feet of each other, are at different levels, the springing of the arch of the last being about even with the sill of the first, on the outside of which are attached two stone steps, apparently of a staircase descending from it. The mouldings of this door are also on the inside, plain splays being outside." Papworth has pointed out that Blackburn has unconsciously inverted his sentence, since the door from the great chamber was some feet above that leading from the other apartment. For "first" we should therefore read "last" or "latter," and *vice versâ*. This staircase may have been originally in the open, a common feature of the 15th century, and have been enclosed subsequently. The position of the door which led to it from the great parlour is shown on the plan.*

The staircase

It now remains only to consider the north-west wing which adjoined the hall itself and contained the great parlour below, and the great chamber above. It will have been noticed that these are the names given to the two rooms in the deed of sale just quoted, and they were the usual terms used at the time. Gotch in his work on the English Renaissance reminds us that Shakespeare makes even so inconsiderable a person as Slender tell Falstaff that he has a "great chamber" in his house, and we have mentioned before the growing tendency to provide the private apartment which Blackburn calls the "great dining parlour." Writers upon the subject of Crosby Hall have, however, almost invariably made use of the comparatively modern terms of council chamber and throne room as applied to the "great parlour" and "great chamber" respectively; but even on this point they are not agreed, and the Rev. Charles Mackenzie refers to the upper room as the council chamber. Whatever the reason that occasioned these names we prefer to adhere to the earlier nomenclature in this description.

The great parlour and great chamber

The size of the whole wing is determined by the vault which remained,

* *In* 1756 *Sambrooke Freeman, Esq., let to Joseph South and others, for seventeen years, the "hall, throne room" and "free egress up and down the back*

and indeed sufficient portions of the walls were in existence in 1836 to guide Blackburn in his restoration of the building to its original size and proportions. Wilkinson's view (Plate 6) shows the interior, with the intermediate floor removed for the purpose of presenting the two rooms in one view. The drawing is made from the west end. In the distance, through a breach in the stonework, are to be seen three of the windows of the great hall, and in the east wall are shown the two doorways, of which the right-hand one led into the hall and remained *in situ* to the end. In the south wall (on the right) beginning from the east, there are three double windows on the upper floor, in the first of which only one light was glazed, the other being a blank panel where the bay window of the hall adjoined (*see also* Plate 4). These windows are separated by niches. Below the first window was situated the "postern" which was noticed in our description of the courtyard, and of which details may be found in Hammon. The double windows and niches are repeated below. Then follows the bay window, which occurs on both floors, and is in each case flanked by niches showing two blank recessed panels divided by a small battlemented transom. The two parts of the bay window are divided by a floor, and each possesses an elaborately ribbed roof of stone provided with deeply moulded curtain arches. Part of these arches and the shafts that supported them still remain in the wall, being built into the adjoining offices. They were restored in 1836, but the bay windows themselves were removed, as stated on page 43, and have long ago disappeared. Between the bay window and the west wall there was one two-light window on each floor. The correctness of this view of Wilkinson's has been somewhat called in question through the publication by Britton of a different arrangement (Plate 20), but there is little doubt that Wilkinson is right and Britton wrong. It will be seen that the only serious divergence is that the latter places the jambs of a second bay with two more niches between the first bay and the postern. A glance at the plan, however, will show the utter impossibility of this in view of the proximity of the hall bay, and it can only be conjectured that Britton was misled by the record of the *two* bay windows one above the other, construing this to mean side by side. Blackburn states that this portion of the wall had been replaced by timber framing, but the double window on the west of the bay and that over the postern existed to point to the original design, and he corroborates Wilkinson in every particular. The design of the roof affords additional support to this view, and Malcolm, writing so early as 1803 in his *Londinium Redivivum*, expressly mentions that between the windows are "niches with pillars connected by pointed arches with those further on."
These windows in the south wall were the only source of light, in Black-

Windows, &c., in great parlour and great chamber

Britton's and Wilkinson's plans

stairs," leading out of St. Helen's into the "said hall, throne room and galleries thereto belonging."—Blackburn.

Details of windows

burn's opinion, to the great parlour and great chamber. They were very similar in design to the lower lights of the hall bay, having the same elaborate cusping. One other window existed in the north wall of the former on the west side of the fireplace, and its panelled jamb is shown on the left-hand side of Wilkinson's view. Blackburn describes the window on page 40 of his book, and suggests that it might "have been introduced during the reparations by Alderman Bond," since it appeared to be later than the other work.

Fireplaces

The original stone chimneypiece of the great parlour, as shown on the drawing, has been preserved. It is similar to that in the great hall. The upper room evidently also possessed a fireplace on the north wall, but Blackburn does not speak of it as existing, and Wilkinson shows only an opening where it had been. Beyond, in the same wall, are to be seen the doorways leading to the staircase already mentioned, and there were indications of another opening between this and the fireplace communicating with the small room on the north side. There would probably be no doorway from the great chamber to the apartments to the north of the hall since they were on a different level. The original west wall which adjoined the backs of the tenements in Bishopsgate Street seems to have had no feature, so far as it had been preserved.

Roof of great chamber

The last subject for our investigation is the once beautiful roof of the great chamber and the ceiling of the room below. Of the former we have the descriptions of Malcolm and Blackburn and the drawing of Wilkinson, all of whom, however, saw it only in a sadly despoiled condition. Pugin's and Britton's details (Plates 22, 23) revive much of its beauty for us, and we learn that its curved principals with their delicate cusps and pendants were highly gilt and enclosed ribbed panels with tracery of elaborate design. E. J. Carlos (1832) says of this: "The quatrefoils and the rest of the ornamented woodwork were removed from the ceiling previous to the year 1819; a great portion of which, and probably the ceiling of the apartment on the ground floor, or some portion of it, appears to have been purchased by Charles Yarnold, Esq., of Great St. Helen's, at the sale of whose museum on June 11th, 1825, the whole was purchased by L. N. Cottingham, Esq., architect, and at present forms the ceiling of his very interesting museum of English architecture and antiquities attached to his residence in the Waterloo Road." In another place Carlos quotes the information which Malcolm received from some workmen attached to Crosby Hall to the effect that there had been "a stuccoed gilded ceiling with pendants" to the great parlour also, and in a note he adds the following particulars from Mr. Cottingham: "The ceiling was horizontal—(in this respect it differed from the upper chamber)—and richly panelled." Cottingham's museum in the Waterloo Road was well known, and after the owner's death it was sold by auction, an illustrated catalogue of its contents dated 1850 being preserved in the British Museum. As frontis-

Ceiling of great parlour

piece or cover to this catalogue is a line drawing* of a roof with the inscription, "Ceiling formerly in the Council Chamber at Crosby Hall." This illustration shows a flat ceiling of four panels in width, enriched with quatrefoils, and intersected in its length by arched principals adorned with cusps similar to that shown in the details of Pugin and Britton. But curious as is this association of the curved principals with a flat ceiling, it is still more strange to see in the centre a hexagonal opening, in all respects similar to the louvre in the great hall at Crosby Place. Three bays of the roof are shown beyond this opening. We think the importance of the subject warrants a full quotation from the catalogue, for although the descriptive memoir at the beginning contradicts the title of the drawing, the later reference to the roof apparently substantiates it. The memoir says: "The roof (of the first gallery) is an ancient one of great richness and beauty of carved oak, painted and gilt, from an old council chamber of a City corporation, *temp.* Rich. II., many years ago demolished; it is lighted by a Gothic lantern which occupies the position of the original opening for the louvre." In the body of the catalogue the roof is thus described: "Lot 291. A highly enriched panelled ceiling of oak with its corbels, spandrils, pendants, &c., painted and gilt. It is lighted by a lantern which occupies the position of the original opening for the louvre. This interesting ceiling (which is in the highest state of preservation) was taken from the council chamber, Crosby Hall, anciently called Crosby Place, the greater part of which still exists and is remarkable as one of the finest examples of the domestic architecture of the 15th century now remaining." It is impossible to pronounce with any certainty upon the value of these conflicting statements. The drawing in the catalogue certainly suggests the ceiling of the great parlour (*i.e.*, the council chamber) since it is horizontal, as described by Cottingham himself. In this case, however, the existence of a louvre is impossible, nor have we any record of a hexagonal opening such as is shown, except in the great hall. Further, it is just possible that the lower ceiling, although flat, possessed curved principals similar to those of the upper room (since Malcolm states that the ornament of the ceiling was taken down to give more height to the room), and that these had pierced spandrils, as shown in the drawing. We are inclined to think, however, that Cottingham made up his roof from the various fragments which he had collected, using the horizontal panels of the lower ceiling, the cusping and curved ornament of the upper roof, and probably he inserted portions of the old hexagonal opening from the hall roof if we are right in our conjecture that the present one is, in part, a restoration of the original. He could not have used the roof of the great chamber in its entirety, since the beams themselves were not pulled down but robbed only of their adornments. It is

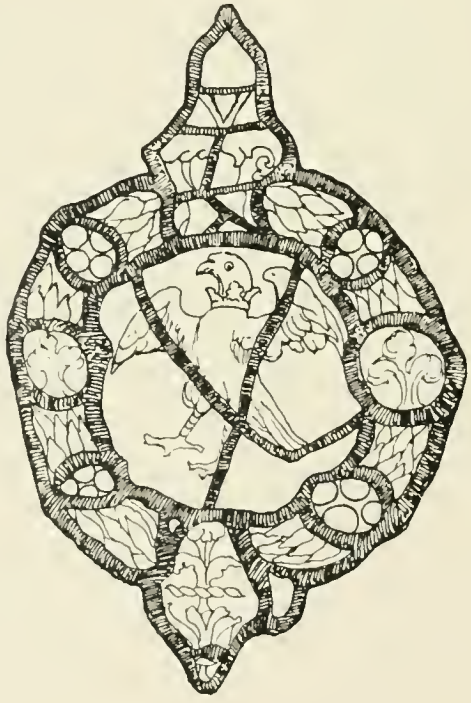
Roof formerly in Cottingham's museum

* *This illustration appeared also in* "*The Builder*," *November* 8, 1851.

therefore the more likely that an attempt was made to combine the two, and the writer of the catalogue must have been much misinformed. The roof was purchased at the sale by Mr. Walesby, formerly of 5, Waterloo Place, London, but we have been unable, as yet, to trace its present owner.

Our task is now complete, as far as it is possible to apply that word to this fragmentary investigation. The annals of Crosby Place have been written, and the greatest care has been taken in examining every particle of evidence as to its early beauty and grandeur. In thus affectionately recording those qualities in its architecture that move our deeper feelings, as we recall the stately building now destroyed, we pay only a fitting homage to one of the great periods of art and of artists—a period of renown which belonged to our own country, and in Crosby Place is seen so intimately associated with our own great city of London.

Note.—Although it has been generally taken for granted that every vestige of the original stained glass in Crosby Hall has disappeared, it may be of interest to add that the fragment sketched below is to be seen in the staircase window of No. 3, Crosby Square. The glass is evidently of early date, and it is quite possible that it is a relic from the hall, having been inserted here for preservation.

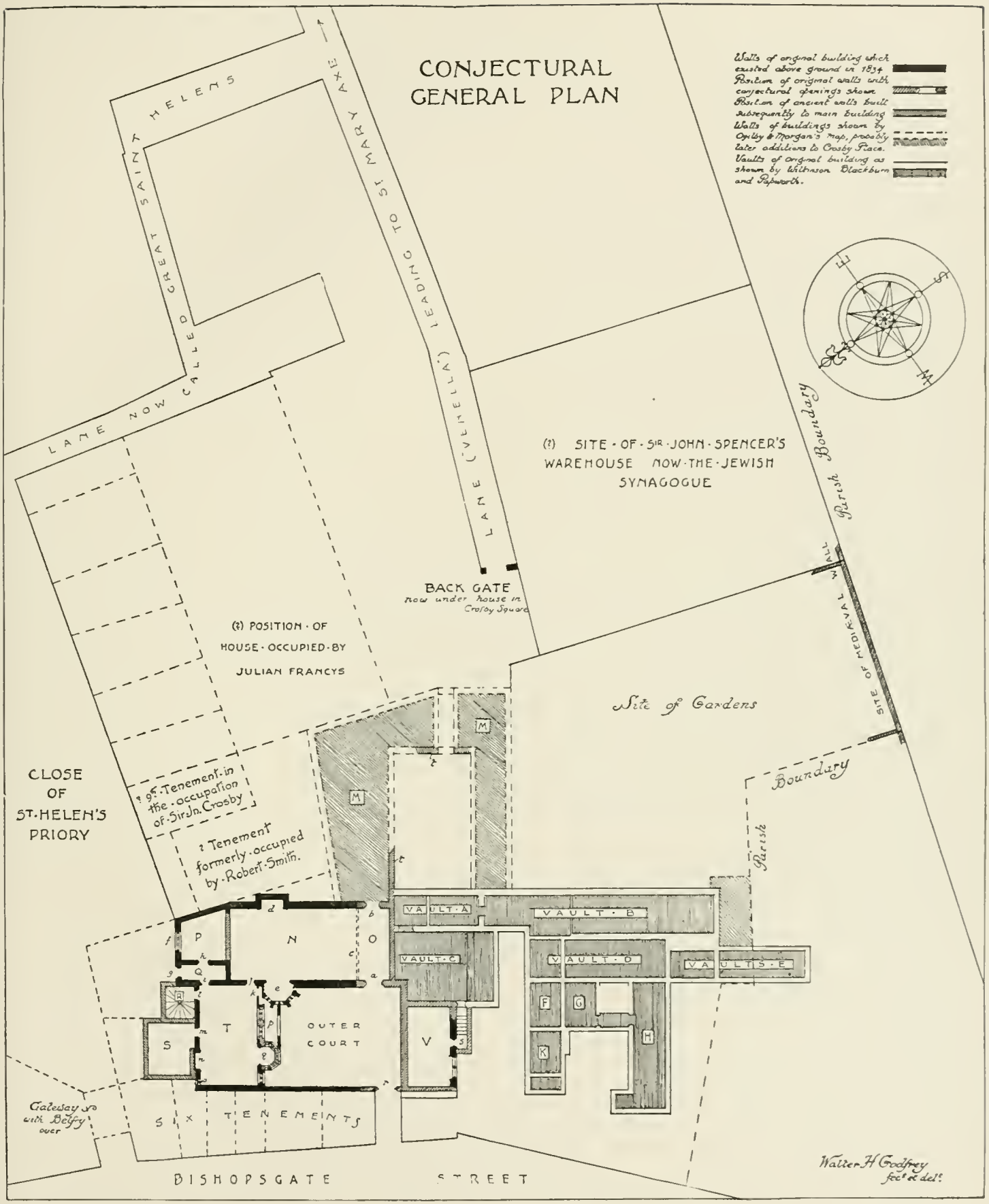


CONJECTURAL GENERAL PLAN OF
CROSBY PLACE.

CONJECTURAL GENERAL PLAN.

REFERENCES.

ABC. Vaults as shown by Wilkinson.
D. Vault shown by Wilkinson as detached.
EFGHK. Additional vaults shown by Papworth.
MM. Buildings round eastern courtyard shown by Ogilby and Morgan.
N. Great hall.
O. Passage with gallery over (now roadway into Crosby Square).
P. Apartment to north of hall.
Q. North vestibule.
R. Original position of staircase, subsequently enclosed, as shown.
S. Apartment mentioned in deed of sale, 1566.
T. Great parlour (great chamber over).
V. Apartment supposed to have been the chapel.
a. Main entrance to hall.
b. Door leading originally to open air.
c. Position of screen.
d. Fireplace in hall.
e. Bay window (or oriel).
f. Position of window to north room.
g. Entrance from St. Helen's Close.
h,i. Doors to north room and great parlour from vestibule.
j. Door from hall to great parlour.
k. Postern leading to outer courtyard.
l. Door to stairs.
m. Door to apartment south of great parlour.
n. Fireplace in great parlour.
o. Window in great parlour inserted (?) 16th century.
p. Position of supposed cloistered porch.
q. Bay window formerly in great parlour.
r. Entrance from Bishopsgate Street ("The Foregate").
s. Stairs from groined vault below apartment V.
t. Walls discovered by Blackburn.


CONJECTURAL
GENERAL PLAN
Walls of original building which existed above ground in 1834
Position of original walls with conjectural openings shown
Position of ancient walls built subsequently to main building
Walls of buildings shown by Ogilby & Morgan's map, probably later additions to Crosby Place.
Vaults of original building as shown by Wilkinson Blackburn and Papworth.
LANE NOW CALLED GREAT SAINT HELENS
LANE (VENELLA) LEADING TO ST MARY AXE
(?) SITE OF SIR JOHN SPENCER'S WAREHOUSE NOW THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE
Parish Boundary
SITE OF MEDIEVAL WALL
BACK GATE
now under house in Crosby Square
(?) POSITION OF HOUSE OCCUPIED BY JULIAN FRANCYS
Site of Gardens
CLOSE OF ST HELEN'S PRIORY
? 95 Tenement in the occupation of Sir Jn. Crosby
? Tenement formerly occupied by Robert Smith.
VAULT A
VAULT B
VAULT C
VAULT D
VAULTS E
OUTER COURT
SIX TENEMENTS
Gateway to with Belfry over
BISHOPSGATE STREET
Walter H Godfrey fec! & del!

THE ARCHITECTURE OF CROSBY HALL.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT PORTIONS OF THE BUILDING AT THE TIME OF ITS DEMOLITION. BY W. D. CARÖE, F.S.A.

AS the only extant example of the most important factor in a metropolitan palatial residence of its time this Hall possessed a peculiar interest. It had been fortuitously handed down to us, a remnant of the highest type of the architecture of its period, erected when the near termination of the Civil Wars was permitting a fuller attention to domestic needs and comforts.

The extent of Crosby Place and the plan of its buildings are fully discussed in a previous portion of this monograph. The hall, at the time of its erection, formed no doubt the chief and most ornamental portion of the whole edifice, but, if we may judge from the recorded remains of the adjoining parlour and solar, or "great chamber" (called recently the throne room), it is evident that the whole place was one of great richness and beauty.

Work of restoration had been, in the first half of last century so ruthless in connection with the north-western wing of the outer courtyard, containing the parlour and great chamber, that no architectural description of such ancient work as remained to us is called for. A solitary fragment of the south wall of the wing still remains, and unless condemned by some exacting or anti-historical district surveyor, probably will remain, embedded in the party wall of the buildings of The International Banking Corporation which now occupy the site of the courtyard. This fragment is worth noting as the last remnant, when the work of demolition is completed, of ancient Crosby Place, save some vaults now outside the curtilage. When these modern bank buildings in their turn reach the housebreaker, this built-up fragment may perhaps excite the curiosity and speculation of the latter-day antiquary. Mr. Norman has so fully examined what is known from documentary evidence of the history and form of this part of the building, that I need not go further than call attention to the cusping of the elaborate roof (Plate 23), which was of much interest, and resembled that occurring in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and also in the restored cloisters of St. Stephen at Westminster.

It is well to make a further note upon the folly of needless renewal by way of restoration. When Blackburn rebuilt this part, instead of preserving and repairing what he found, it is clear from existing drawings that he tried to reproduce the old details, suiting them, however, to his convenience. But the old roof was destroyed and a copy in fir and papier-mâché substituted for it. This was patent enough to a keen observer. It

was announced, however, as a discovery at the recent demolition, and ignorantly (if not wilfully) used to cast doubts upon the authenticity of the ancient roof of the hall itself.

I confine myself now to an examination of the hall proper and its immediate adjuncts, and John Britton's plan of 1813, as being the earliest in any measure complete, may be adopted for reference (Plate 20). Its inaccuracies, already alluded to in general terms upon page 34 (*supra*), must be particularly noted. He locates Crosby Square instead of Great St. Helen's at the north end of the hall, probably a slip or engraver's error. In the chamber at the north end he shows a large opening giving upon Great St. Helen's. This was doubtless originally a window, and had been cut out for warehouse purposes to which the building was given over. Plate 7 gives us some further information, and shows also the original entrance doorway (at f, Plate 20). Some part of this doorway remained until recently and is shown by Hammon, but its composition had been altered in the process of restoration. This entrance led into a narrow vestibule, which in its turn gave upon the northern annexe to the hall on the left hand, and upon the parlour on the right.

Passing to the great hall, we have a plain parallelogram divided by windows and roof principals into eight bays, exclusive of the western gallery. The internal area, not counting the gallery, is 53 feet by 27 feet. The gallery adds 13 feet to the length.

The segmental ceiling, having a blunt four-centred arch, is divided transversely into four compartments, making thirty-two compartments in all, and each compartment is again subdivided by heavy longitudinal and transverse subsidiary ribs with bold bosses at every intersection. Between these subdivisions the constructional curved rafters are made to show. At the intersection of the main transverse and longitudinal ribs are a series of pendants, twenty-seven in all, including the half pendants at the ends, and from these pendants spring a system of four-centred arches in every direction with traceried and cusped perforated spandrils over them, the whole securing an effect of great richness combined with solidity of construction (Plate 10).

The chief transverse ribs or principals are brought down the wall 4 feet 6 inches below the springing line on to stone corbels, treated as pendants to correspond in general form with the timber pendants of the roof (Plate 12).

At this point a curious and interesting idiosyncrasy of construction may be noted. These corbels were cut upon long bonding stones reaching about 2 feet 6 inches into the wall. Upon the table of the corbel was fixed a flat piece of iron, bottle-shaped on plan, the base outwards over the corbel and the head in the wall. The length of the iron is 1 foot 4 inches, greatest width over the corbel $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the thickness $\frac{7}{16}$ inch. The head is turned down 2 inches with a jagged shank for running with

lead into the stone. Over the iron, which, excepting the lug, was laid upon and not let into the stone, was a piece of deerskin with the hair still upon it and the hair laid downwards. The woodwork of the principals was separated from the stone of the corbels by the iron and skin, which seems to have fulfilled the function of a moveable joint. The irons have very neatly engraved upon them an arrow head, the mark no doubt of the ironsmith. They remained unrusted and the skin intact at the day of demolition, but where restored corbels had been introduced they were missing.

From these stone corbels or pendants, which are hollow-sided on plan and exactly fill the wall space between each of the windows, there also spring timber wall arches forming a label to the four-centred window head, with traceried spandrils over them as before, and supporting a rich cornice ornamented in each bay by seven deeply cut and bossed quatrefoils (Plate 11). The very careful arrangement by which roof and windows are brought into one complete and interdependent design is one of the chief features of the conception, and alone puts this remarkable composition in the forefront of its period and class.

Upon the west side and occupying the third and fourth bays from the north end stood the great bay window (known as the oriel) deeply recessed and elaborately groined. The composition of this, and the manner in which the curtain arch, occupying the width of two bays of the roof, is again worked in with the latter so as to continue the general lines of the scheme is masterly. The window is set out in five sides of an octagon, three and a half of which are pierced by two-light windows, each with double battlemented transoms. The remaining northern side and half the southern are filled by blank panels, matching the windows, a frequent device in work of this period, where an adjacent building or the thickness of the wall blocks the light, as in this instance. In these windows the double cusping of the two lower tiers of lights should be noticed; added richness is thus given to these lights over those of the ordinary windows. The form of vault is that known as lierne. The figure forms five sides of an octagon. The main ribs spring from single groin shafts in the angles of the octagon which are brought down to the floor level by elongated bases. There is a ridge rib (slightly domed) rising from the head of each compartment and meeting the main ribs in a very magnificent boss, ornamented with an esquire's helm, mantling and torse bearing the crest of John Crosby. There is no shield, which reminds us of the freedom of heraldic treatment in those days. The shield itself occurs isolated in diminutive form upon one of the smaller bosses. The lierne ribs cross one another at the ridges in a boss, and at the crossing are intersected by a horizontal rib taking the lines of the octagon. Secondary liernes and wall ribs complete the scheme, the latter forming scoinson arches over the windows. The setting out of the ribs is carefully marked

upon the bed of the springer stones, thereby showing that the springers were worked upon the banker.

The centre of the fifth bay or the main roof from the north end is occupied by a hexagonal opening recently used as a light shaft. This, no doubt, was originally designed as the ordinary lantern for the emission of smoke from a central hearth or brazier, but in Britton's and Pugin's time it was filled in by richly ribbed panelling, of which both authors give a plan. The existing hexagonal curb proves to be of oak, but in parts of doubtful authenticity. I see no grounds for doubting, however, what the draughtsmen have indicated. There was thus provision made for the hall lantern as well as the fireplace. It has been supposed that the fireplace was a later introduction. It was upon the east wall opposite to the bay, but a little further north. Although patched and restored it undoubtedly belonged to the 15th century (Plate 36). The construction of the flue as revealed by the demolition suggested its originality, and it seems probable that the lantern was closed, if not in the first instance, at a very early time. The fireplace had been a not uncommon feature, especially in smaller halls, from an earlier date than this. Opposite the fireplace was a door leading to the western apartment. This doorway was a restoration of the original.

Returning now to the window arcade on the west wall, the two northern bays are filled by blank panels necessitated by the existence of the northern wing abutting against the wall in this direction. The sills of these panels were some 3 feet above the ordinary sill line. Opposite these blank windows Britton shows two others with glazed lights but similarly raised sills (Plate 21). It is probable that there was a lower building on the east side which necessitated the variation, and the panels opposite were made to match. This solution is, however, problematical, since the sloping boundary line may have approached the east wall very closely (Plate 25). The canted wall of the northern annexe suggests the previous existence of buildings belonging to the convent, square with the line of the Close. The rich roof was carried only as far as the eighth bay from the north. In the southern portion beyond this the windows exist only on the west side. They are the same in design but differently located, being brought together so that there is no wall space separating them. Since this leaves no room for the roof principals or corbels, it alone is proof that the main roof never extended southward beyond its present termination ; but in addition to this it has been found that the last existing roof principal is smaller than the others and moulded upon one side only, from which it is perfectly evident that there must have been some form of partition cutting off the southern part. The roadway leading to Crosby Square passed through this portion of the hall beneath the gallery. This and the opening for it in the west wall were constructed by Edward Blore, architect, in 1831, and at the same time he restored the wall and windows over the opening.

No doubt originally there was on the ground floor the usual screen cutting the hall off from the passage which led to the butteries and kitchens after the orthodox manner, while on the first floor the space over the passage may have formed a landing to the principal stairs and a connecting link between the first floors of those wings of the Place which occupied roughly the two sides of what is now known as Crosby Square and was then the garden or inner court. Of the east wall over the gallery nothing remained. The wall had been removed, and the back of the wall of the 17th century adjoining house (now No. 8, Crosby Square), closed in the space. Britton (Plate 21) repeats here the pair of windows as on the opposite side. If they ever existed, the buildings which probably abutted here must have had only a low elevation.

It remains to refer to those parts of the vaults which were beneath the hall and its northern annexe, all of which were original. Built of brick, in one span, the main crypt forms a barrel vault beneath the hall, including the whole of the roadway leading to Crosby Square. Here, at its southern end, at the south-east angle, is the commencement of the long vault shown in Wilkinson's plan (Plate 19), while under the northern annexe, where it is separated from the rest by a thick wall, the vault is reversed. The vault under the parlour was of precisely the same character. The main crypt beneath the hall was originally lighted by six four-centred windows, three of which looked east and three west upon the outer court; the northern portion by one similar light towards Great St. Helen's which had been preserved. The outer walls were carried to a depth of about 15 feet below the present ground level, and rested on the natural soil which was here brick earth.* The barrel vault, two bricks thick, sprang from a set-off, 4 inches wide, 4 feet 3 inches above crypt floor line, and rose 5 feet to the apex, almost to the level of the hall floor. The intermediate walls shown on Plate 29 were modern introductions, and when they were built the floor space between them was lowered 2 feet 6 inches. The vault was actually four-centred, but almost elliptical. The bricks are of precisely the same size and quality as those used in the spandrils of the upper walls over the windows, and we may gather that the vault was probably turned when the builders had adopted brick for the completion of their walls above the roof springing. The arch joints were very true and of excellent white mortar, but they were not truly radiated. They sloped a little outwards through the whole archivolt and a V-shaped key of Kentish rag stone was inserted at the apex. The six main crypt lights are shown correctly upon Wilkinson's plan (Plate 19), those upon the west side being wider than those opposite. Their construction was unusual. The openings were four-centred un-

* *Immediately north of the hall (or of the site) portions of several Roman amphoræ were found.*

glazed lights fitted with shutters and the usual ironwork. The inner splay was wide and the splayed sill long and sloping to the springing of the vault. Just beneath the level of the hall floor a four-centred stone scoinson arch was turned, only 3 inches thick, and over this was a discharging arch at the level of the outer head. The space between the two arches was filled with a brick spandril again only 3 inches thick, this spandril forming part of the hall wall: this arrangement had not been disclosed earlier and is not shown upon the measured drawings. Had the brick vault been continuous across the windows it is clear the latter would have been wholly obliterated. The brick vault was therefore pierced and over the piercing an oval vault was turned (Plate 19), the whole arrangement being ingenious. At the level of the scoinson arches rough stone corbels were inserted along the walls, evidently for the purpose of carrying the supports to the floor, which must have been of wood. Whether the haunches of the vault were filled in or not originally does not appear.

A few words upon material are called for. The outer walls were 3 feet 3 inches thick, increased to 3 feet 7 inches below the vault. They were faced with Kentish rag and filled with clunch, flint, ragstone, and fragments of brick roofing tile and floor tiles, some of the latter encaustic. Britton is imaginative in showing the interior walls of ashlar. Above the window arches brick was the material, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 9 inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 2 inches being the size, the same brick as used for the vault of the basement. The dressed stone was generally Reigate freestone (greensand), as employed in Westminster Abbey. The external repairs upon the west side and the refacing of the west wall had been executed in Bath stone with some Caen, the former probably being used by Blackburn and the latter by Blore. Considerable restoration had been carried out to the oriel but the vault over it was absolutely genuine and untouched, and from the fact that the original iron tie at the springing remained intact—a very interesting piece of construction—it is clear that the oriel was preserved to us generally in an authentic form. The roof was of oak. The carved pateræ, a feature of the design, were cut upon the solid in the first instance, but at one of the restorations many of them had been cut out and foolish substitutes in fir inserted. The general construction of the roof was admirable, but an unusual feature was the use of large nails as well as oak pins. These nails were in perfect preservation and some of them 8 inches long.

No notice of Crosby Hall can be complete without a reference to its noble proportions, and the fine effect of its plain walls contrasting with the rich and harmonious scheme of windows and roof. It was not one of the great halls in size, but even in its forlorn condition, with its suspicion of early 19th century restorations upon it and the later veneer of eating-house vulgarities to alloy its charm, it yet stood a monument of the highly developed artistic taste of a great building age. In it was displayed

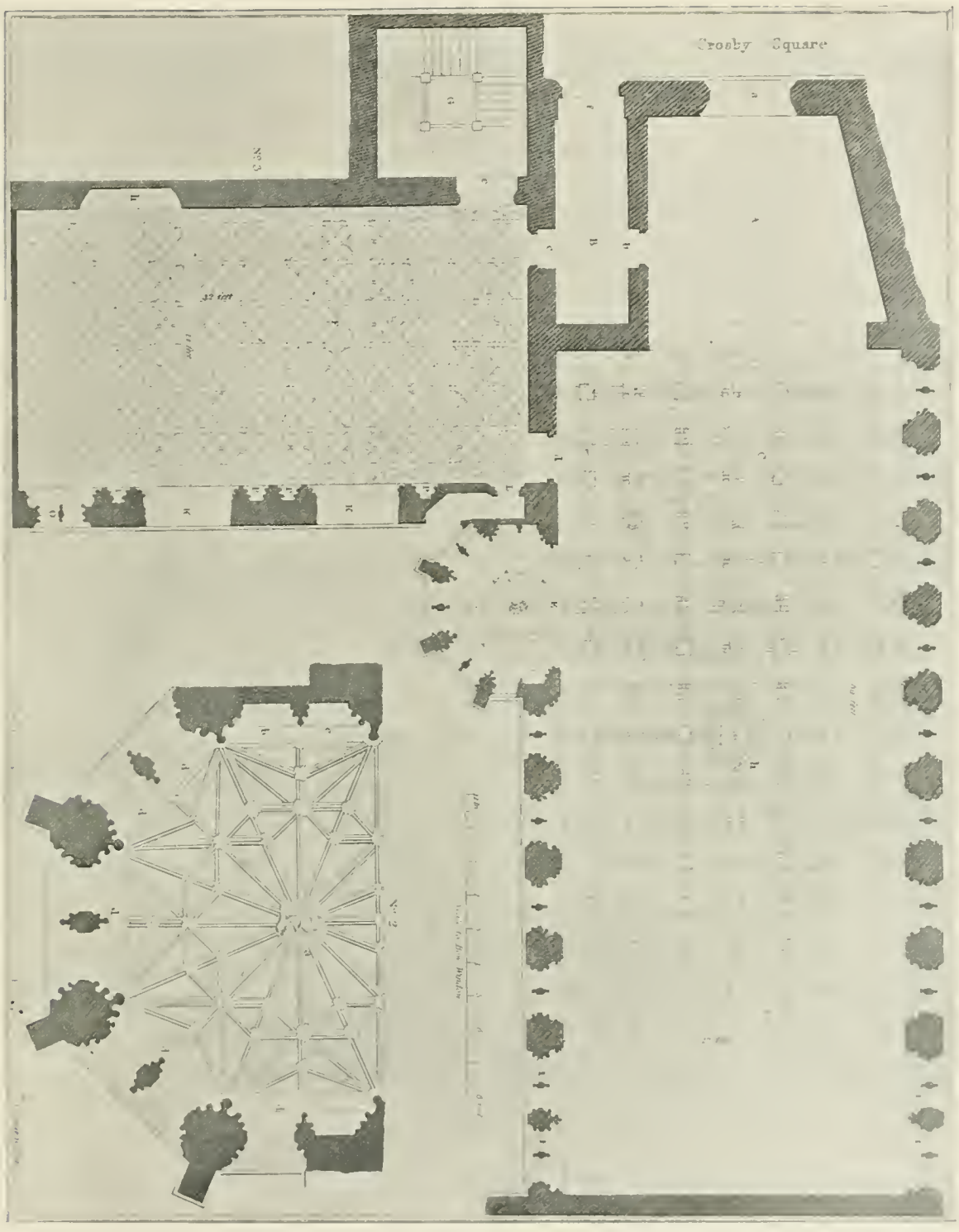
a combination of simplicity of parts, of solidity of construction, and of richness of detail where richness is called for—the whole a striking and impressive unity, put together without conscious effort, a lesson of repose to the modern architect. Fortunate are we to be the successors of those who could produce work of this high class, unworthy when as in this case, we fail to appreciate or understand our fortune.

Tenderly and reverently treated, Crosby Hall might have shaken off with ease those evidences of neglect or attention by which the commonplace and unappreciative are too readily deceived. It might thus have remained for long years a type of noble architecture, the last, but a worthy and living record of mediæval London. That London should allow such a record to be wiped out for any cause whatever is a fact surely that passes comprehension. She is adding to the legacy of vain regrets which future generations will sadly inherit.

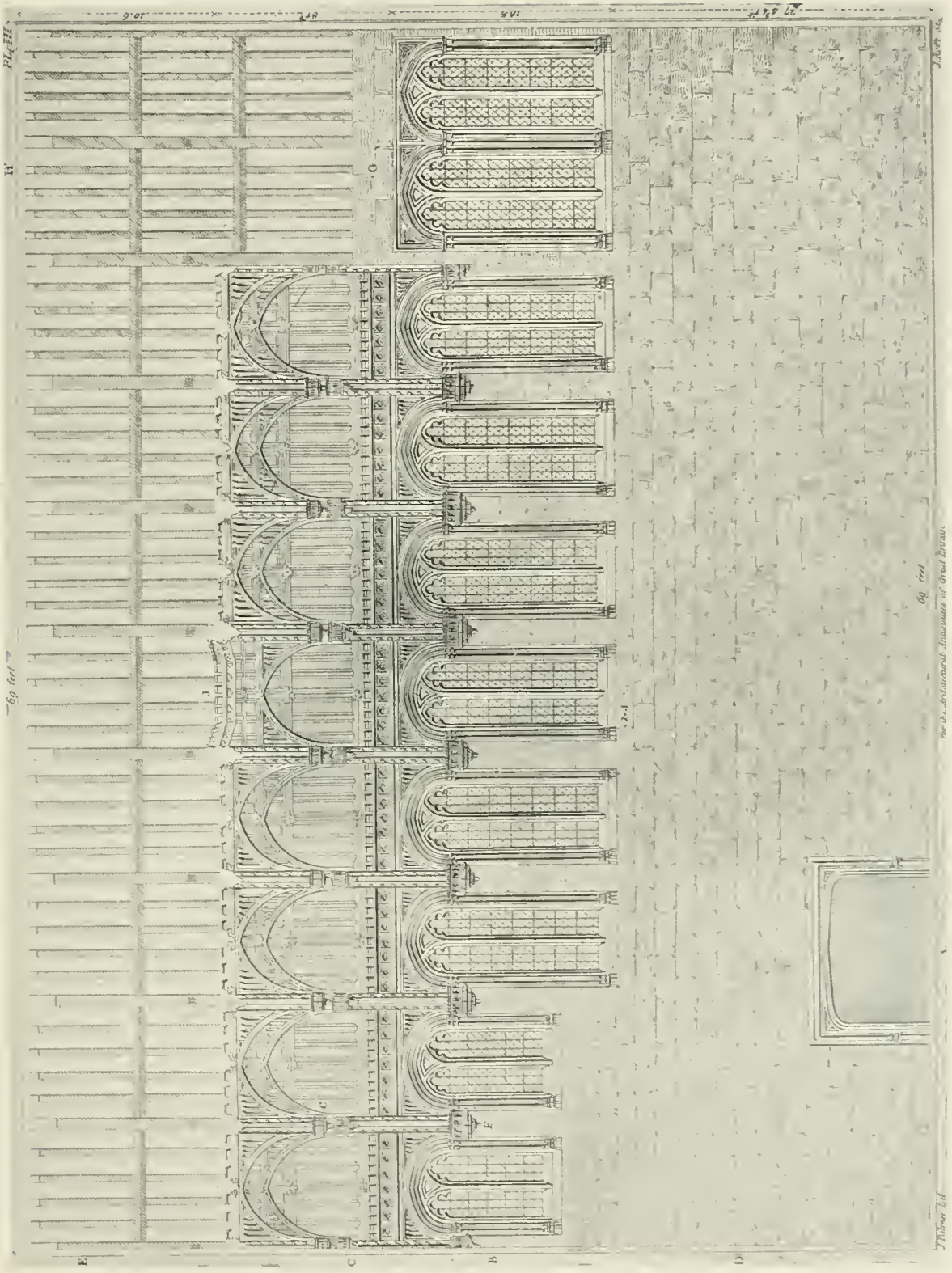
In conclusion let it be recorded that William Wilkins, in erecting the New Hall for King's College, Cambridge, in 1824, paid Crosby Hall the compliment of adopting its roof, which he reproduced in plaster.

A plain arched brick ceiling
Modern Wall
7 feet 6 high plain arch ceiling
A Room 9 feet high with plain arch ceiling in which are two large iron rings
Under the Great Hall
Plain arch Roof 21 6 high with iron rings in middle
Modern Wall
Under the Council Room
B
C
D
PLAN & VIEWS OF THE
VAULTS OF CROSBY HALL,
BISHOPSGATE STREET.
C. This room is grounded 4 ft more Southerd than the others with the entrance of a staircase leading to the apartments above. The whole of the ceiling is of stone, all the others are of brick plastered.
D. A Cellar under one of the houses in Bishopsgate Street with arched ceilings & stone arched ribs in the middle It is of the same character with the other cellars & no doubt was formerly part of the magnificent building
Scale of Feet
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100

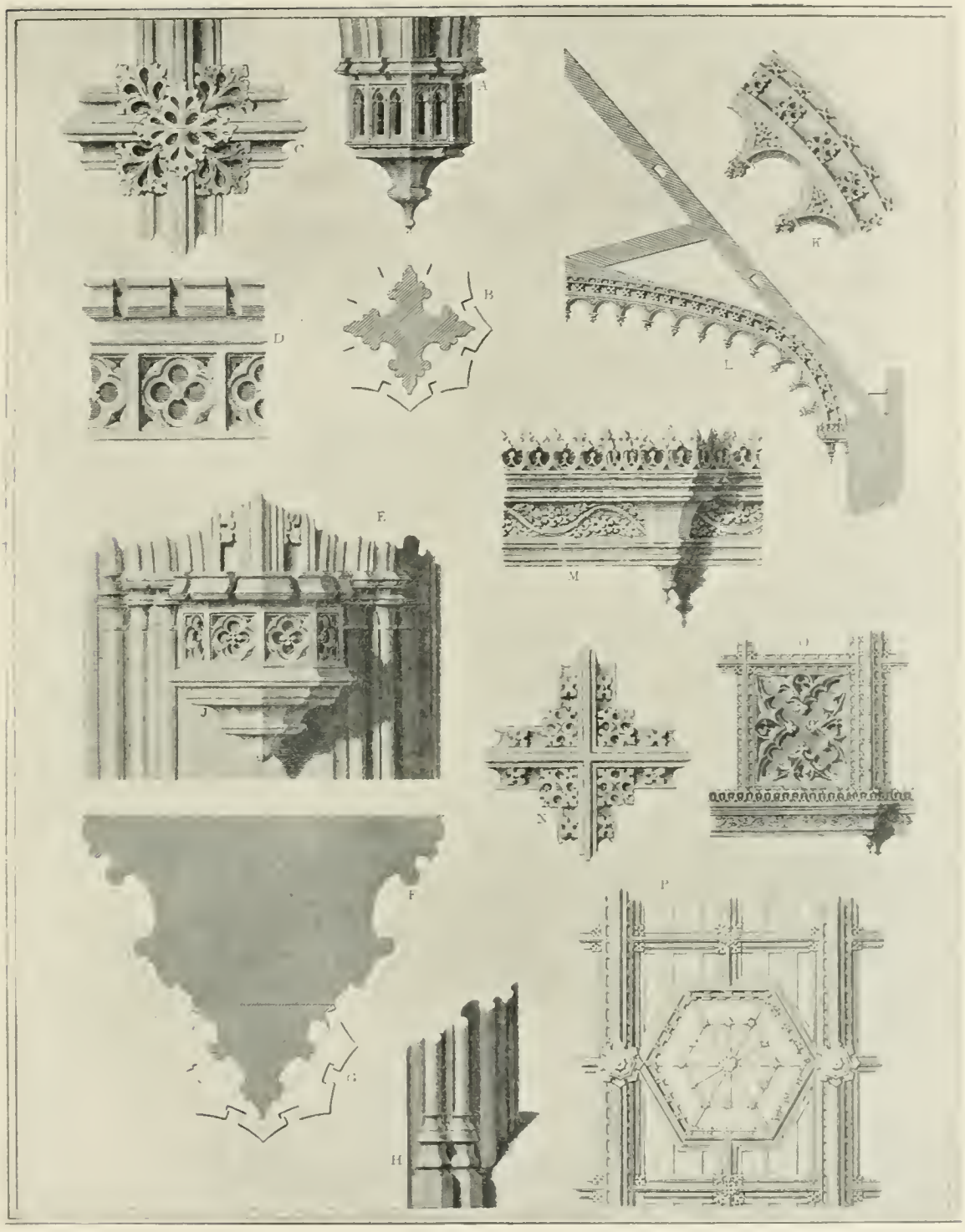
i



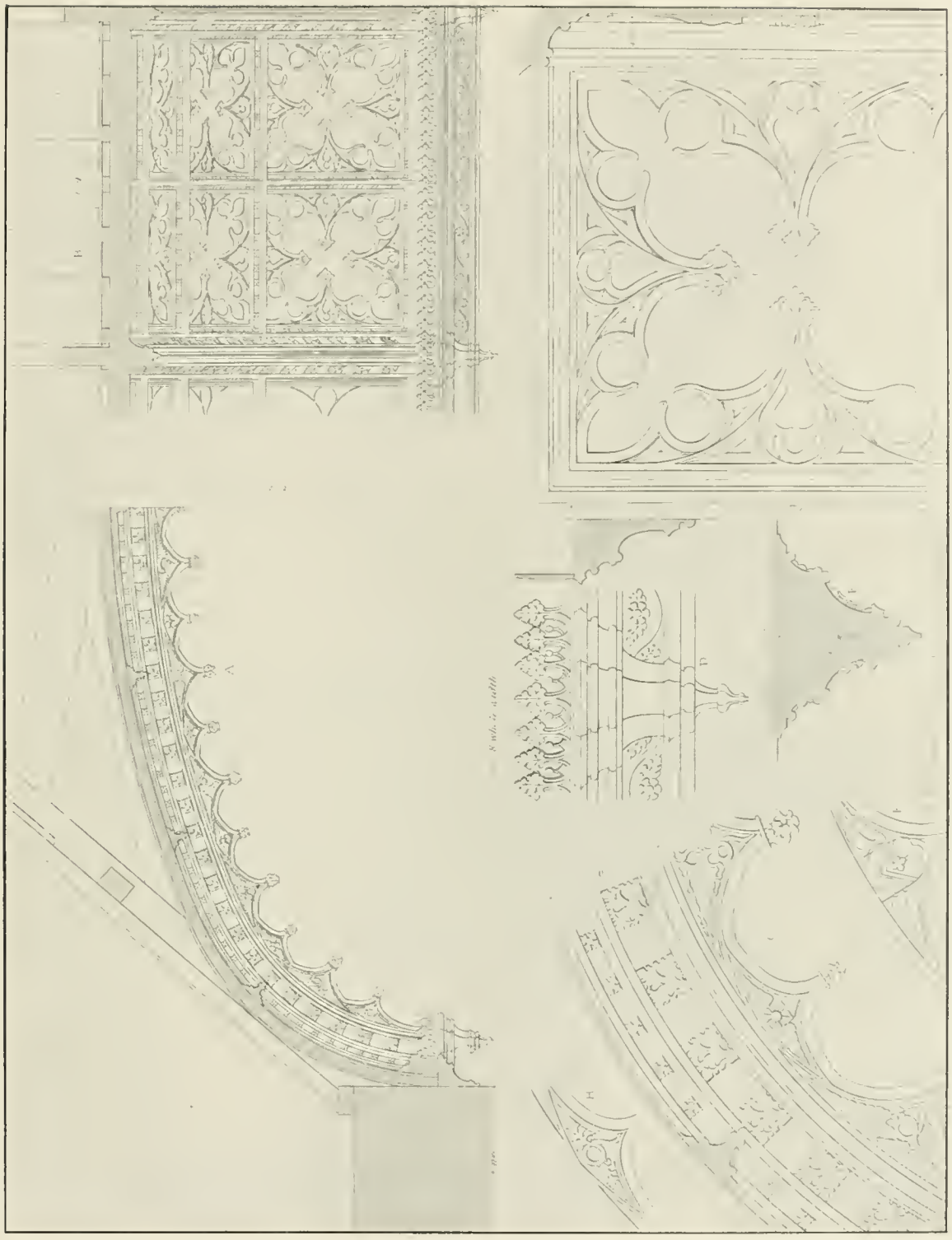
PLAN OF HALL, ETC. (BRITTON), 1813



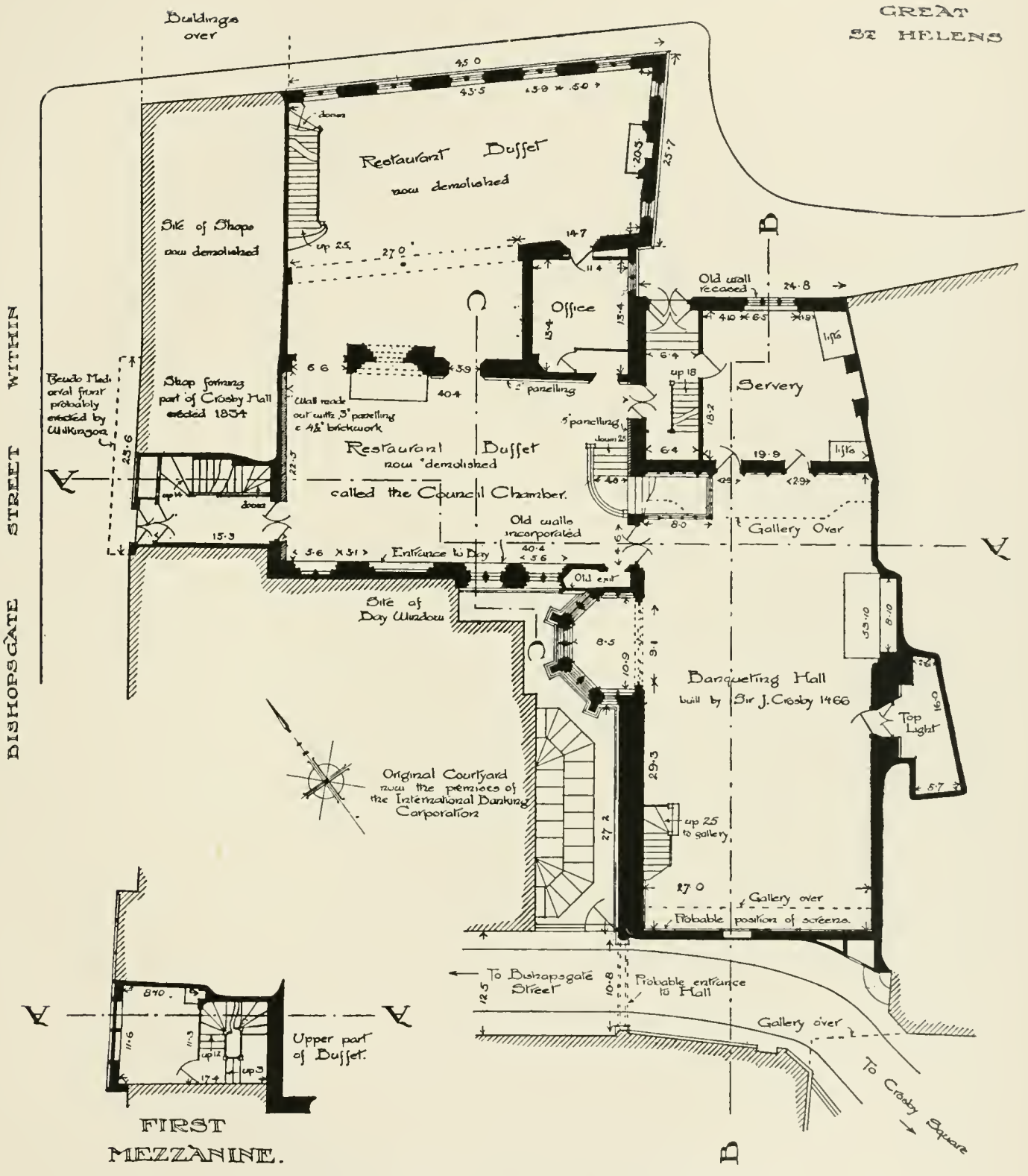
ELEVATION OF EAST SIDE OF HALL (BRITTON) 1813

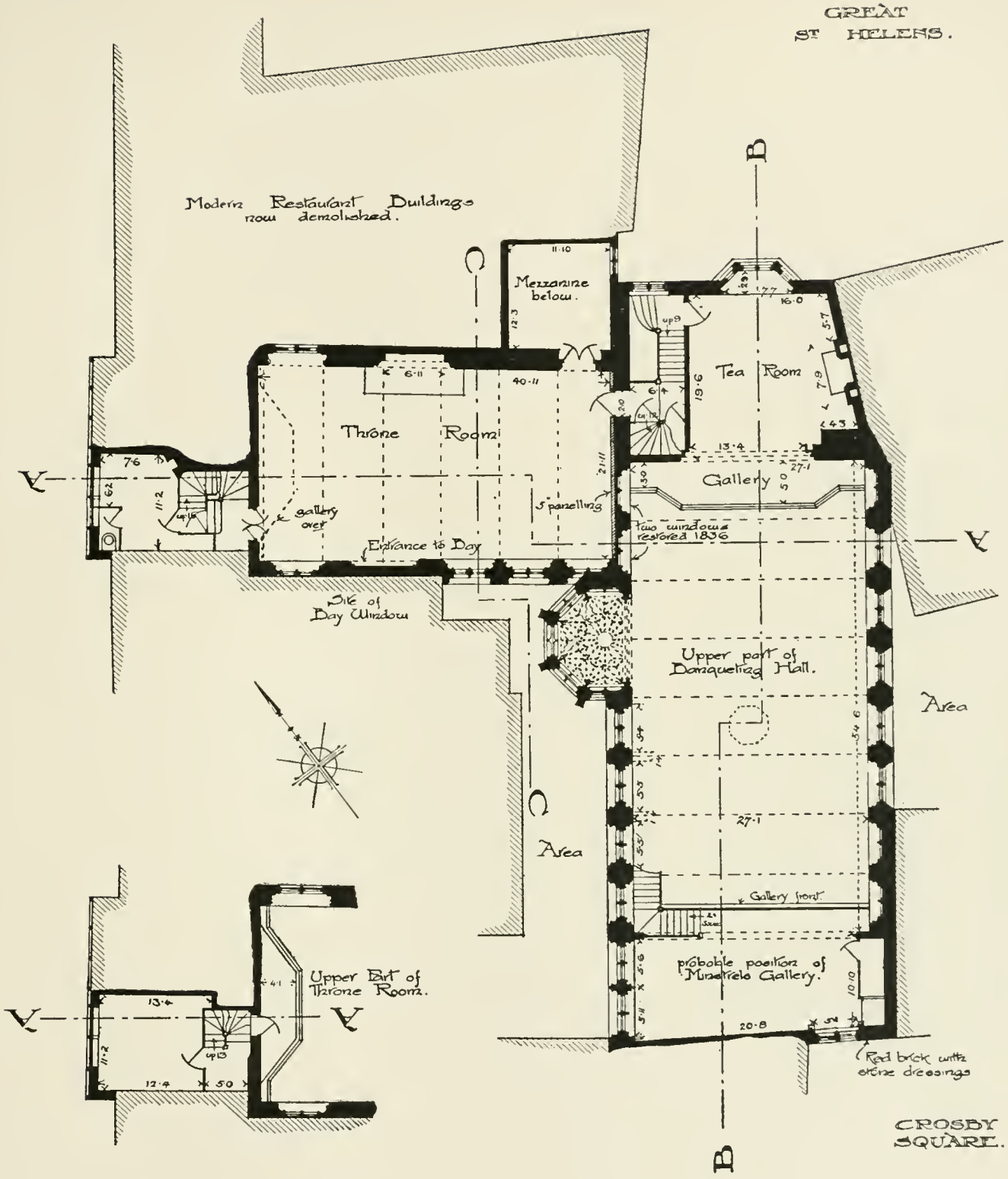


DETAILS OF ROOFS IN GREAT HALL AND GREAT CHAMBER (BRITTON), 1813



DETAILS OF ROOF OVER GREAT CHAMBER
(PUGIN), 1825


Buildings over
GREAT ST HELENS
BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN
Restaurant Dusset now demolished
Site of Shops now demolished
Shop forming part of Crosby Hall erected 1834
Bendo Medieval front probably erected by Wilkinson
Restaurant Dusset now demolished called the Council Chamber.
Office
Old wall recessed
Servery
Old walls incorporated
Entrance to Bay
Site of Bay Window
Old exit
Gallery Over
Banqueting Hall built by Sir J. Crosby 1466
Top Light
Original Courtyard now the premises of the International Banking Corporation
up 25 to gallery
Gallery over
Probable position of screens
To Bishopsgate Street
Probable entrance to Hall
Gallery over
To Crosby Square
Upper part of Dusset.
FIRST MEZZANINE.
GROUND FLOOR PLAN.
SCALE OF FEET.
5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

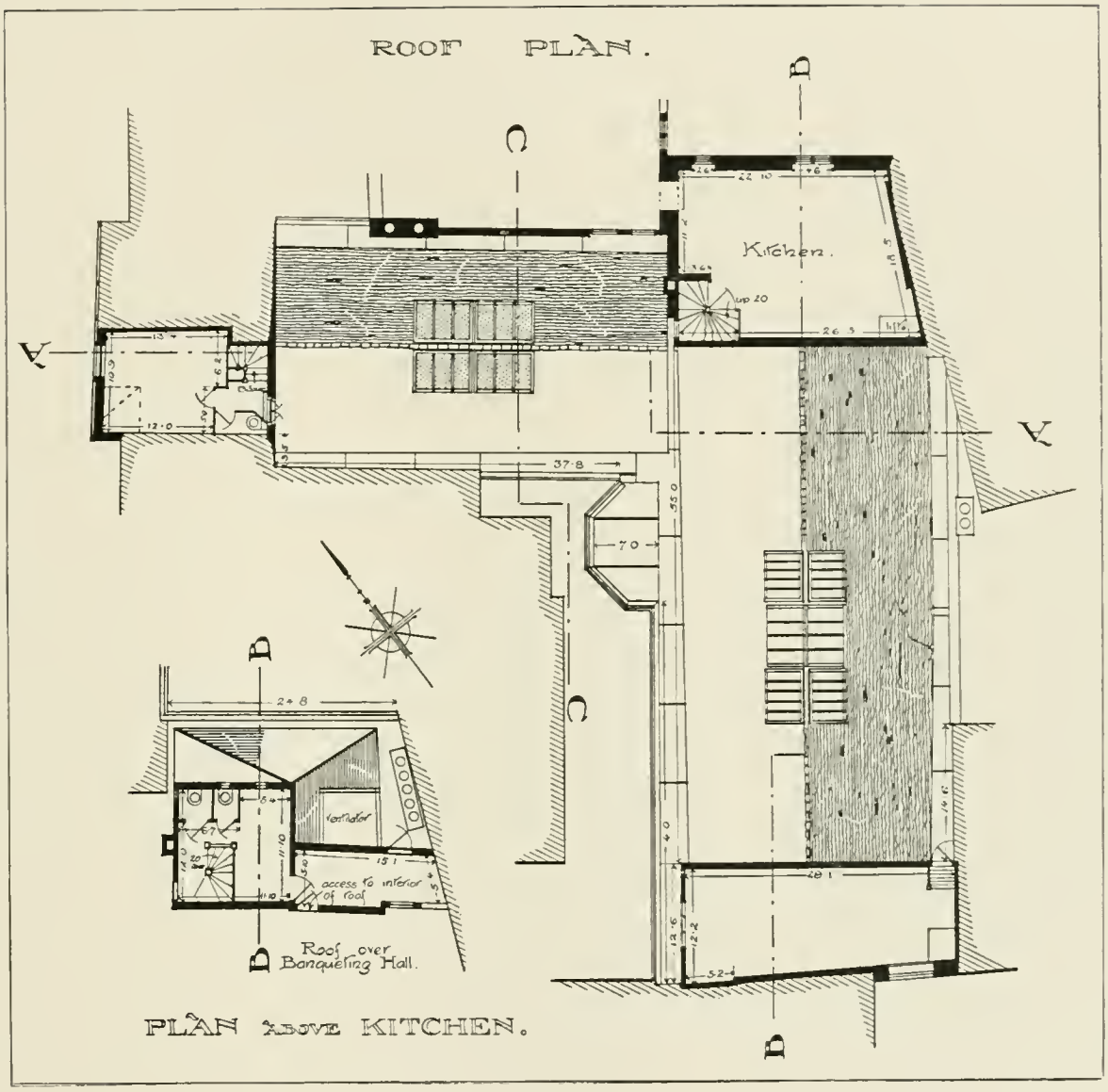


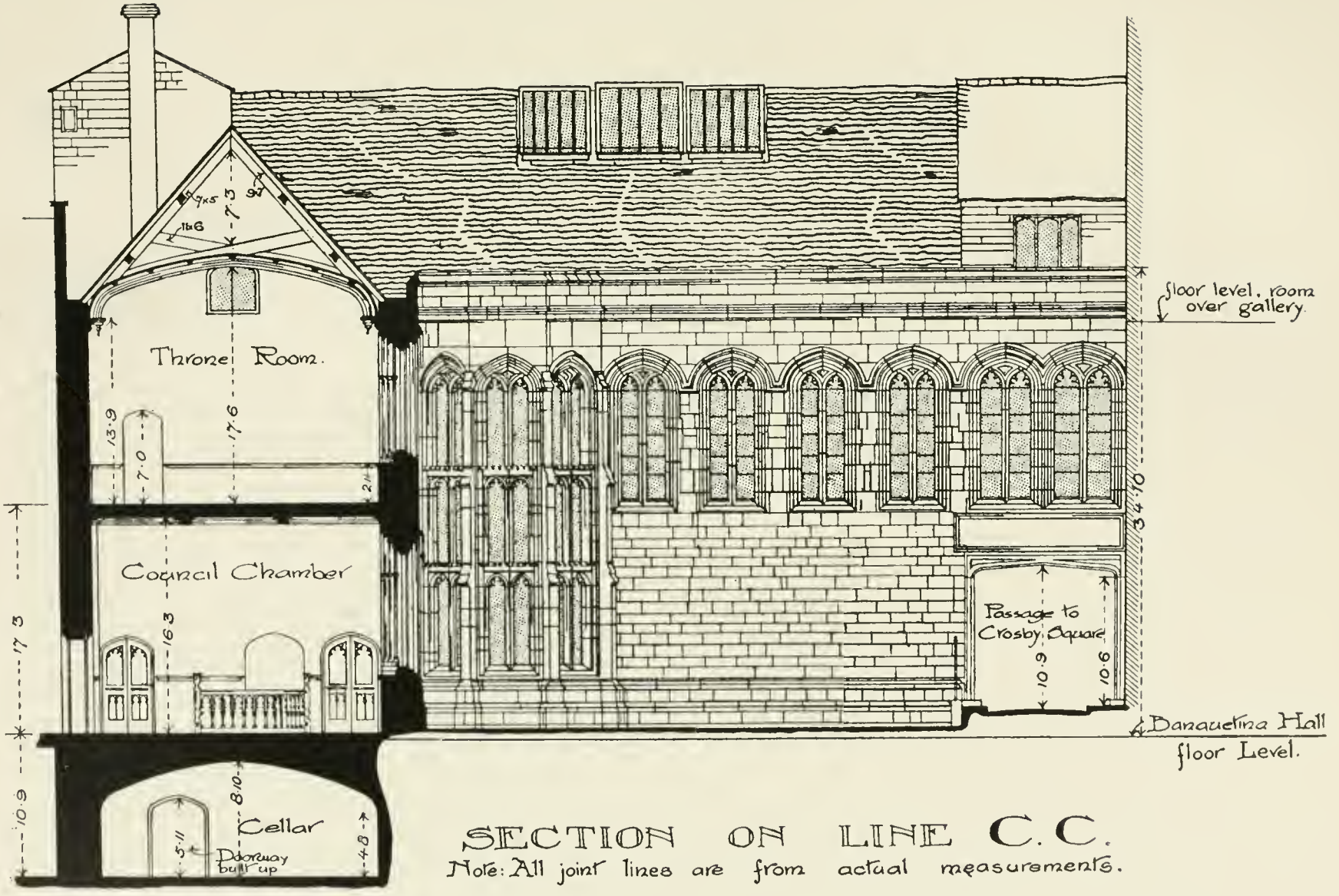
SECOND MEZZANINE.

FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

SCALE OF FEET.

5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40


ROOF PLAN.
Kitchen.
corridor
access to interior of roof
Roof over Banqueting Hall.
PLAN ABOVE KITCHEN.



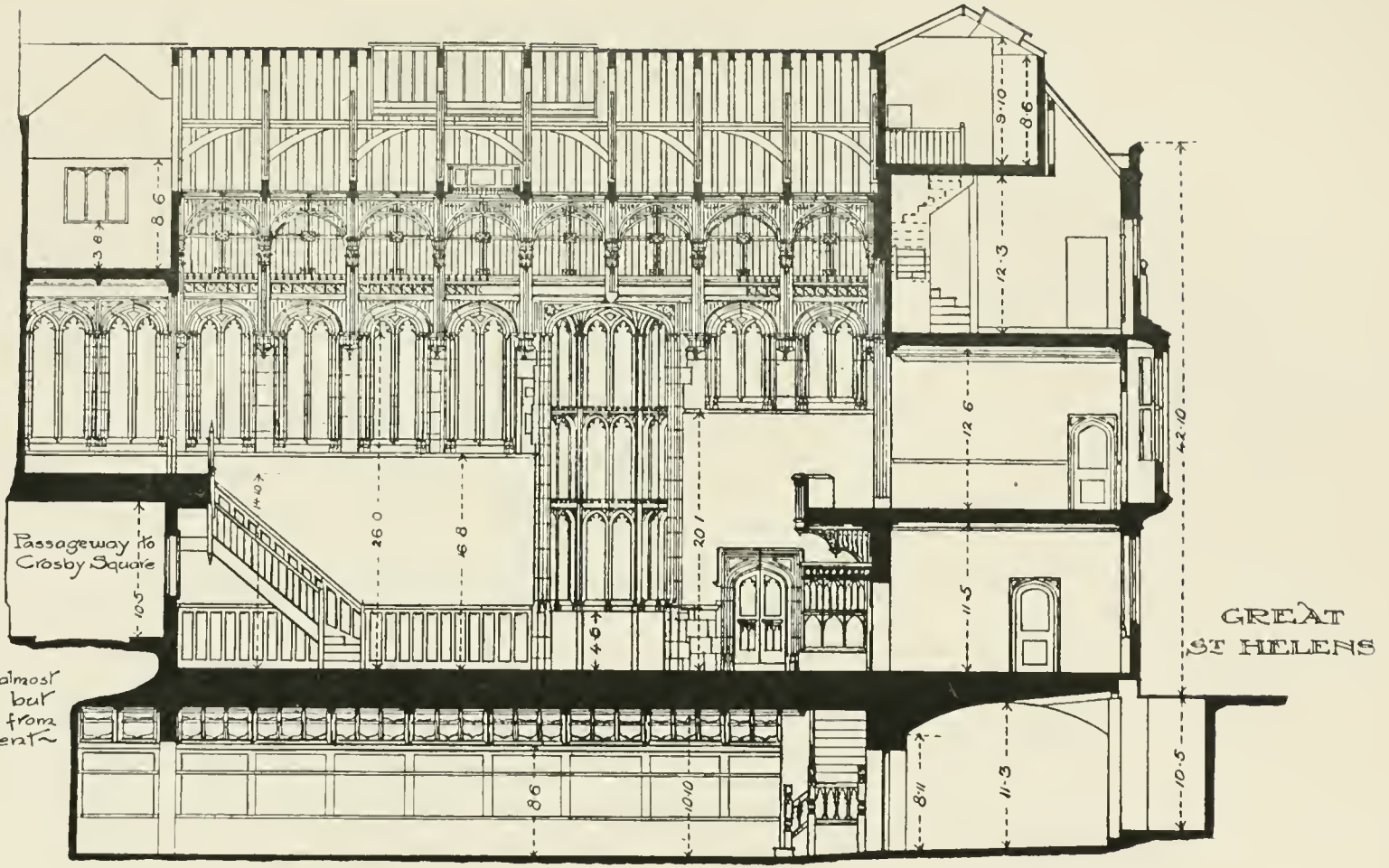
SECTION ON LINE C.C.

Note: All joint lines are from actual measurements.

SCALE OF FEET.

5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

PLATE 27

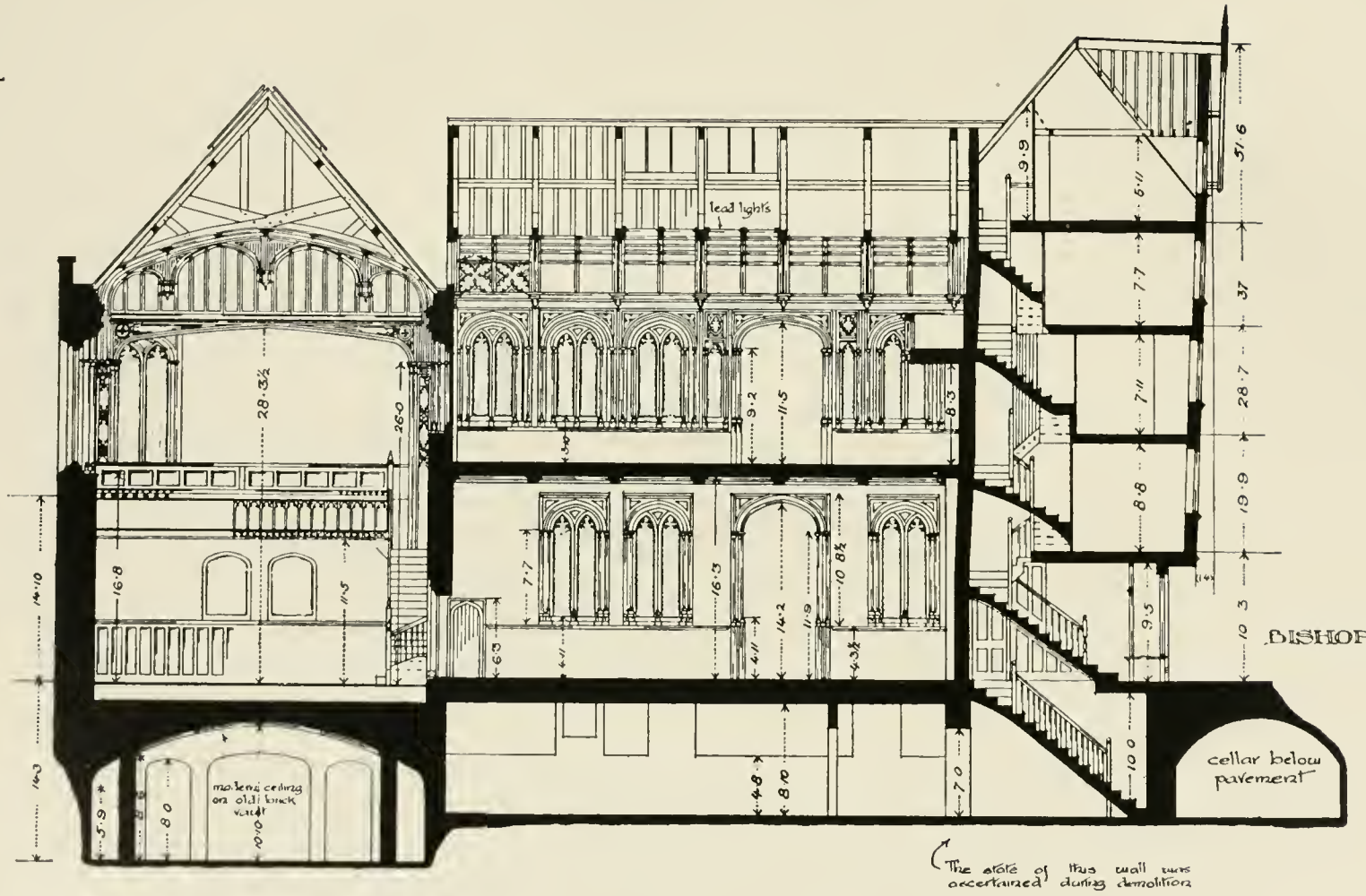


SECTION ON LINE B.B.

SCALE OF FEET.

5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

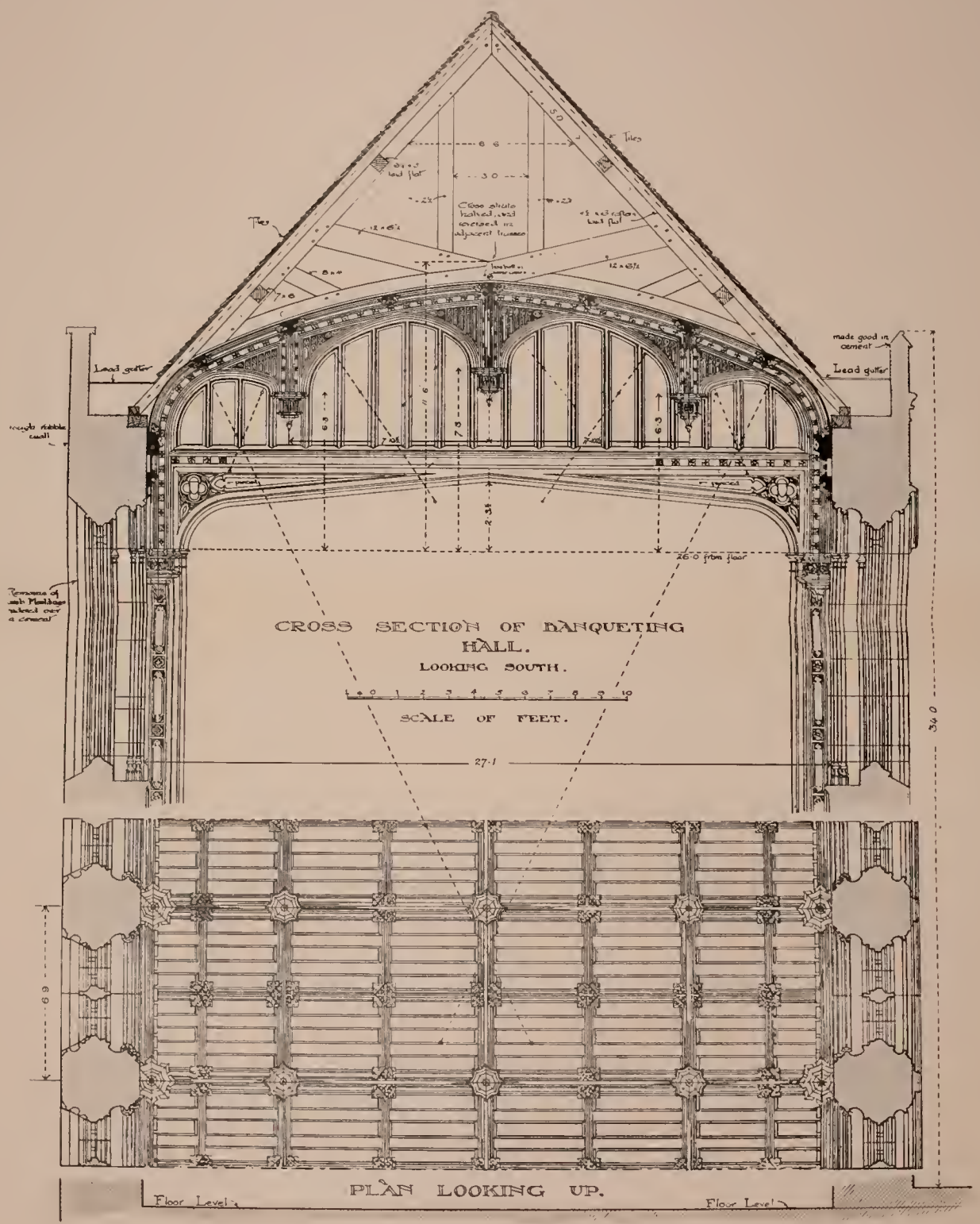
PLATE 28



SECTION ON LINE A.A.

PLATE 29

PLATE 30



CROSS SECTION OF BANQUETING HALL.
LOOKING SOUTH.

SCALE OF FEET.

PLAN LOOKING UP.

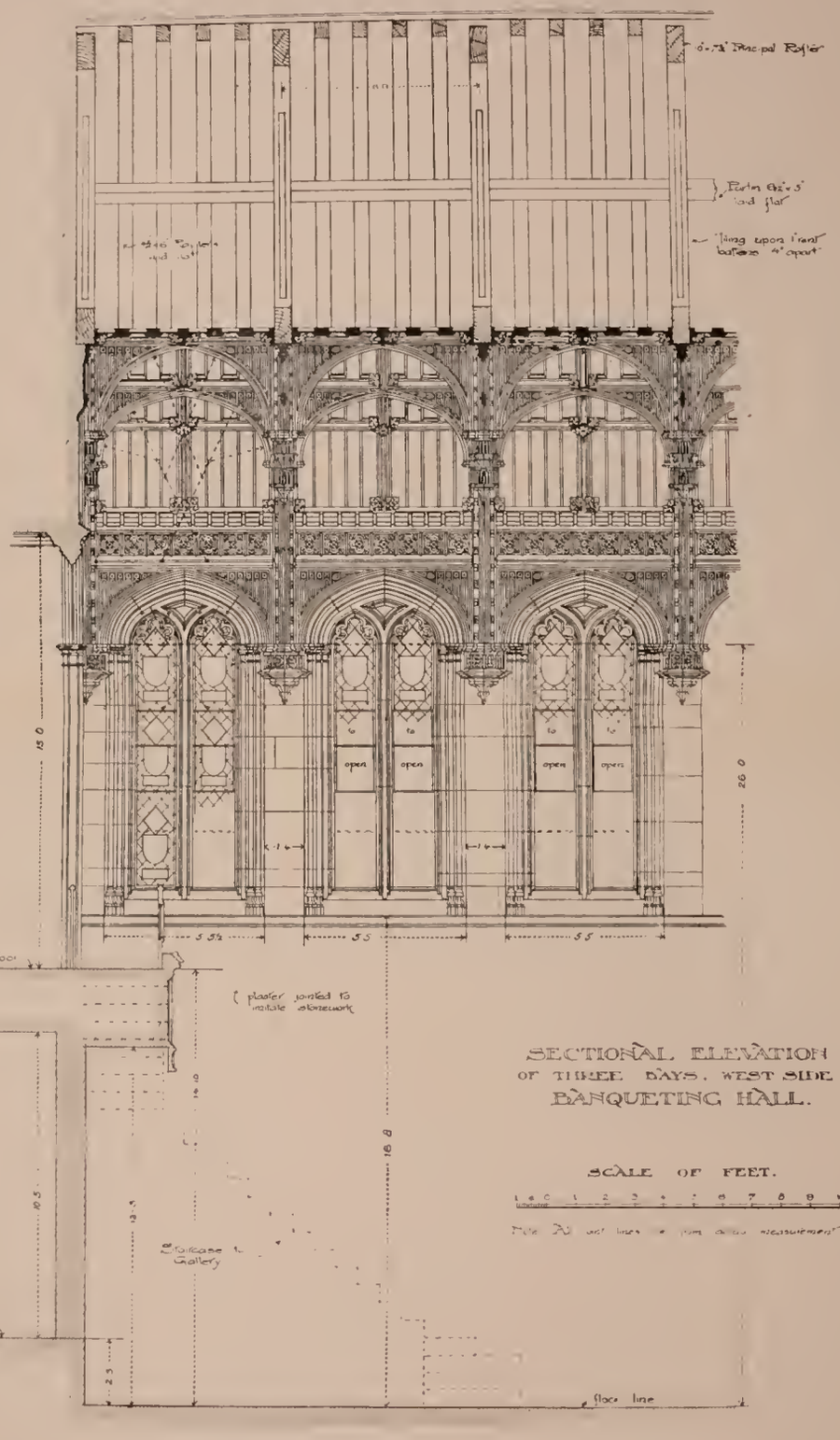

Principal Rafter
Purlin
laid flat
Timber
laid flat
Timber
laid flat
Timber

PLATE 32

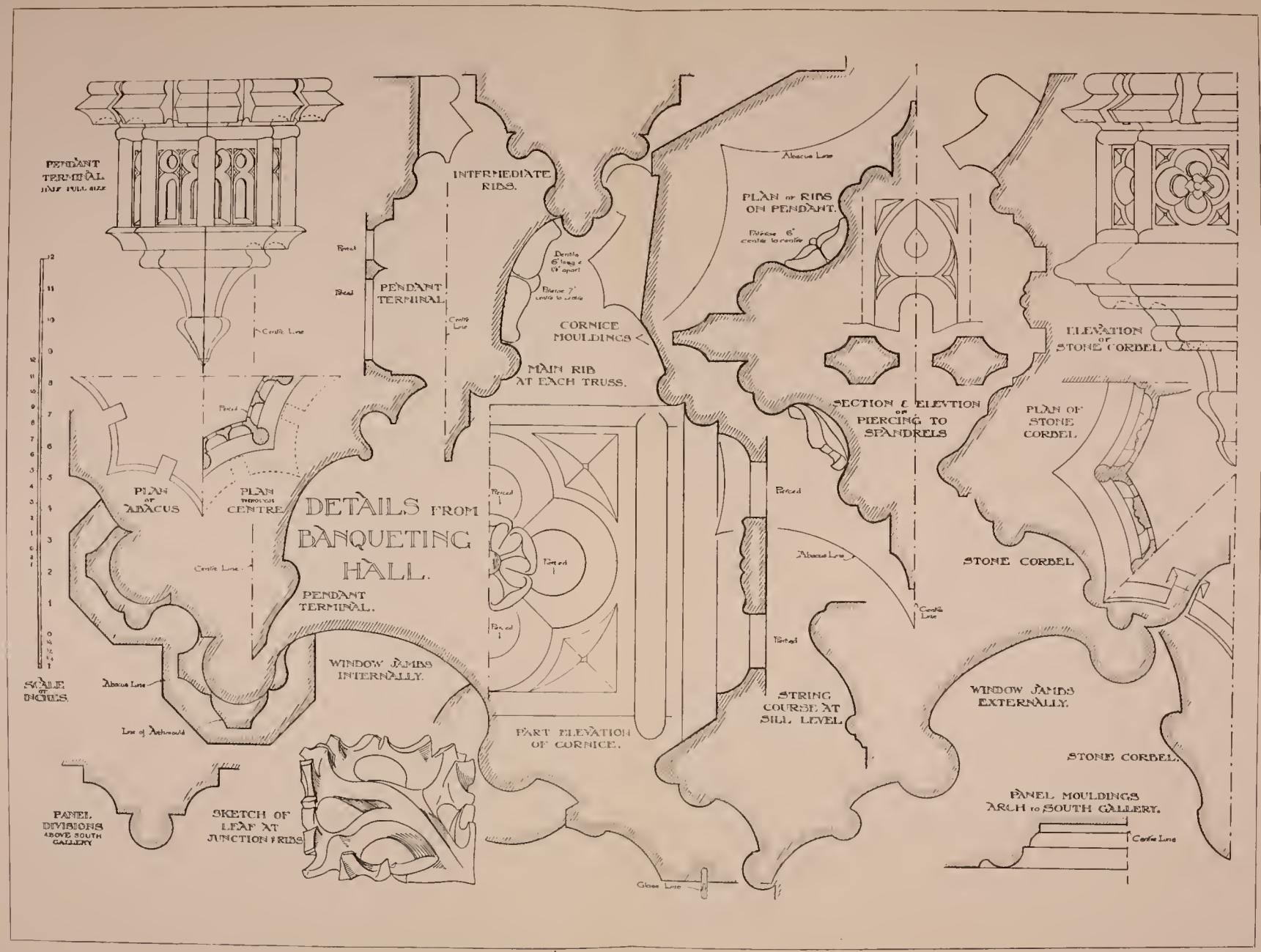
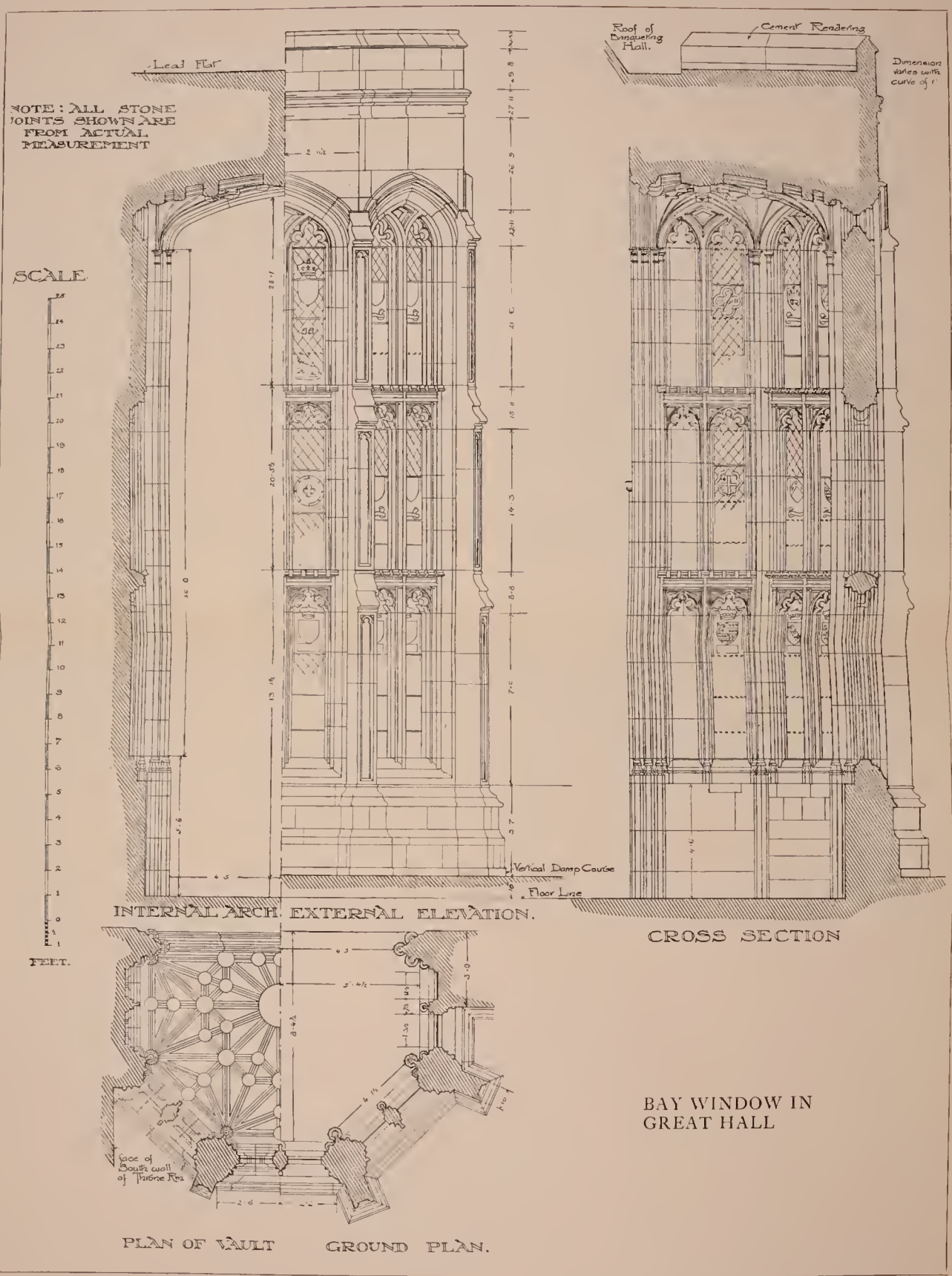
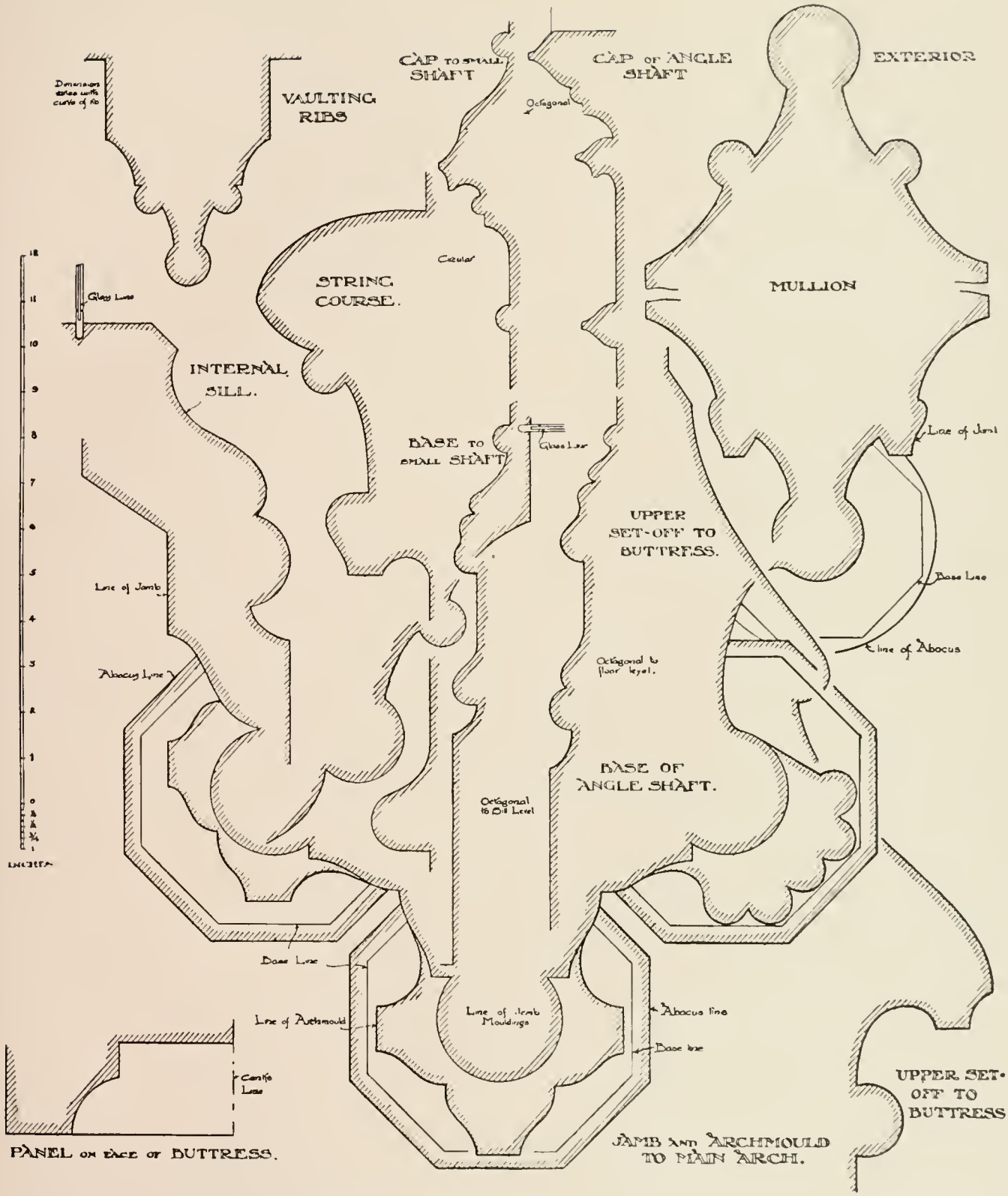

PENDANT TERMINAL
HALF FULL SIZE
INTERMEDIATE RIBS.
PENDANT TERMINAL
CORNICE MOULDINGS
MAIN RIB AT EACH TRUSS.
PLAN OF RIBS ON PENDANT.
ELEVATION OF STONE CORBEL
SECTION & ELEVTION OF PIERCING TO SPANDRELS
PLAN OF STONE CORBEL
PLAN AT ABACUS
PLAN THROUGH CENTRE
DETAILS FROM BANQUETING HALL.
PENDANT TERMINAL.
STONE CORBEL
WINDOW JAMBS INTERNALLY.
STRING COURSE AT SILL LEVEL
WINDOW JAMBS EXTERNALLY.
PART ELEVATION OF CORNICE.
STONE CORBEL.
PANEL MOULDINGS ARCH to SOUTH GALLERY.
SCALE OF INCHES.
PANEL DIVISIONS ABOVE SOUTH GALLERY
SKETCH OF LEAF AT JUNCTION RIBS
Abacus Line
Centre Line
Pierced
Line of Architrave
Glass Line

PLATE 33


NOTE: ALL STONE JOINTS SHOWN ARE FROM ACTUAL MEASUREMENT
SCALE.
FEET.
Lead Flat
Vertical Damp Course
Floor Line
INTERNAL ARCH. EXTERNAL ELEVATION.
Roof of Banqueting Hall.
Cement Rendering
Dimension varies with curve of r
CROSS SECTION
Face of South wall of Throne Rm
PLAN OF VAULT
GROUND PLAN.
BAY WINDOW IN GREAT HALL



DETAILS OF BAY WINDOW

VIEW WITHIN N.W. WING
DURING DEMOLITION

TIMBERS IN ROOF
OF HALL

FIREPLACE IN GREAT HALL

SECTION OF VAULT UNDER HALL
DURING DEMOLITION

APPENDIX No. I.

ORIGINAL LEASE OF THE SITE OF CROSBY PLACE TO JOHN CROSBY.

Hec Indentura facta int' Aliciam Ashfelde Priorissam domus sive Prioratus Sče Helene infra Bisshoppesgate Londoñ & ejusdm̃ loci Conventum ex pte una et Joħem Crosby Civem & Grocerum Londoñ ex pte altera testatur qđ p'dict' Priorissa & Conventus unanimi assensu & consensu tocius Capituli sui concesserunt tradiderunt & ad firmam dimiserunt p'fato Joħi totum illud teñtum cum domibz solar̃ celar̃ gardino adjaceñ eidem̃ teñto spectan & alijs suis ptiñ quondam in tenura Catanei Pinelli M'catoris de Janua & modo in tenura dči Joħis Ac quod & que idm̃ Joħes nup ħuit ex dimissione Alicie Wodehous nup Priorisse domus sive ecclie p'dict' & ejusdem loci Conventus situat' & jaceñ in Bisshoppesgatestrete in Pöchia Sancte Helene p'dict' Londoñ simul cum quadam Venella que se extendit in Longitudine ab Orientali porta dči teñti usq' ad Cornerum sive finem australem cujusdam pve venelle borialiter diverteñ in clausum Prioratus p'dči Et cum novem messuagijs quos sex messuag̃ situat' sunt & jacent p vicum Regum vocat' Bisshoppesgatestrete p'dict' in longitudine int' frontem p'dči teñti & frontem campanił ibm ecclie p'dče ptiñ et quoddam mesuag̃ dčos novem mesuagios quod Katerina Catesby Vidua nup tenuit situat' est infra portam subtus campanile p'dict' et sex mesuagijs p'dčis anñex una cum quadam vacua placea terre directe & linialit' extendeñ in longitudine versus orientem p dčm mesuag̃ quod dča Katerina Catesby nup tenuit ab exteriore parte de la place sive poste campanił p'dict' abuttante sup partem borialem dčos sex mesuagios p Regiam stratam predict' in Cimiterium ibm̃ quinquaginta octo pedes & dimiđ assise et abinde extendeñ in latitudine versus Austrum directe usq' quoddam teñ ibm̃ nup in tenura Roberti Smyth Et duo messuag̃ dictos novem mesuagios conjunctim situat' sunt infra clausum dče Priorisse quos unū nup fuit in tenura dči Joħis Crosby ex dimissione prefate Alicie Wodehous nup Priorisse et aliud mesuag̃ ipos duos mesuag̃ nup fuit in tenura dicti Roberti Smyth **Hend' & tenend'** totum p'dčm teñtum cum domibz celar̃ solar̃ gardino adjaceñ eidm̃ teñto spectañ & alijs suis ptiñ adeo plene & integre sicut dčus Joħes Crosby iłł ante dat' p'sentiū ħuit & tenuit simul cum venella novem mesuag̃ & vacua placea terre p'dict'

ac alijs suis ptiñ p'ato Joħi Crosby execut' & assigñ suis a festo Nativitatis Sc̃i Joħis Bap̃te anno Dñi Milliño quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto Et anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conqm̃ sexto usq' ad finem terñi nonaginta & novem annos extunc px sequeñ & plenar̃ complend̄ Reddendo inde annuatim durante term̃io p'dc̃o p'fatis Priorisse & Conventui & successoribz suis undecim libras sex solid̄ & octo denar̃ bone & legalis Monete Anglie ad quatuor anni term̃ios in Civitate Londoñ usuales p equales portiones Et si p'dicta añua firma aretro fu'it in pte vel in toto non solut' p unũ mensem post aliquem terñi p'dc̃os quatuor terminos quo solir debeat ut p'dc̃m est tunc bene liceat prefatis Priorisse & Conventui & Succ̃ suis in p'dict' teñ mesuag̃ & venella cum ptiñ intrare & distringere districcionesq' sic capt' licite asportare abducere effugare & penes se retinere quousq' de p'dc̃a annua firma una cum arrerag̃ ejusdm̃ sique fuer̃ sibi plenar̃ fuer̃ satisfact' & psolut' Et si p'dc̃a annua firma aretro fu'it in pte vel in toto non solut' p dimidiū annū post aliquem terminū dc̃os terminos quo ut prefertur solvi debeat & interim ad teñtum p'dc̃m petatur qd̄ tunc p'dc̃us Joħes concedit p'fatis Priorisse & Conventui p p'sentes ad solvend̄ eisdem Priorisse & Conventui ac Succ̃ suis tresdecim solid̄ & quatuor denar̃ legalis monete Anglie nomine pene ultra p'dc̃am annuam firmam & inde arrerag̃ et hoc tociens quociens dc̃a annua firma aretro fu'it non solut' in pte vel in toto p dimidiū annū ultra aliquem terminū solut' inde supius limitat' si in forma p'dc̃a petat'. et qd̄ tunc bñ liceat p'fatis Priorisse & Conventui & succ̃ suis tam pro p'dc̃a annua firma sic aretro existeñ & pro om̄ibz inde arrerag̃ qm̃ pro non solutione dc̃os tresdecim solid̄ & quatuor denar̃ nomine pene p'dc̃e & arrerag̃ inde in om̄ibz p'dict' teñ mesuag̃ vacuis placeis & venell̄ p'dict' cum ptiñ distringere et districtiones sic capt' asportare abducere & penes se retinere quousq' de firma & pena p'dc̃is & eos arrerag̃ sique fuer̃ eis plenar̃ fuer̃ satisfact' & psolut' Et si p'dicta annua firma aretro fu'it in pte vel in toto non solut' p unū annū integrum post aliquem terñi quo ut p'fertur solir debeat et ad teñtum p'dc̃m petat'. et sufficiens districtio pro arrerag̃ dc̃e annue firme ibm tunc non inveniat' extunc bñ liceat & licebit p'fatis Priorisse & Conventui & succ̃ suis in om̄ia p'dc̃a teñta & mesuag̃ cum ceteris p'missis & suis ptiñ reintrare et il̄l ut in eos pristino statu reh̄ere & possidere Dcm̃q' Joħem Crosby execut' & assigñ suos inde totalit' expellere & ammovere p'senti dimissione in aliquo non obstant' Et p'dict' Johannes Crosby execut' & assigñ sui predict' teñ & mesuag̃ cum domibz solar̃ & celar̃ supradict' Ac cum om̄ibz edificijs infra dict' teñ messuag̃ vacuam placeam terre & venellam fiend̄ sive edificand̄ una cum pavimento in Vico Regio p'dc̃o exoppoito teñ et mesuag̃ p'dict' ac cum pavimento Venelle p'dc̃e bene & competent'

repabunt sustentabunt pavebunt & manutenebunt sumpt' suis proprijs & expeñs durante termino p'dicto Et p'dict' Priorissa & Conventus concedunt p se & succ̃ suis p'fato Joh̃i p presentes qd̃ bñ licebit eidm̃ Joh̃i execut' & assign̄ suis om̄ia & singula edificia quecunq' in & sup dict' teñ & mesuag̃ cum vacua placea terre & venell̃ p'dict ac ceteris p'missis ad presens fact' & construct' ac imposterum faciend & construend depon'e ammovere removere transpon'e transmutare & repon'e reficere sive reedificare infra dict' teñ messuag̃ vac̃ plac̃ terre & venell̃ ad libitum suū proprium ubicumq' & quandocumq' sibi placu'it Ita qd̃ h̃moi edificia sic depõita & deponend in repositione sive reedificatione eosdm̃ in & sup p'missis fiant in adeo bono statu quo nunc sunt seu meliori Et qd̃ ulterius bñ licebit p'fato Joh̃i Crosby execut' & assign̄ suis omnia et singula alia edificia quecumq' de & sūp om̄ia & singula p'dimissa ad libitum suum proprium de novo edificare cum quociens et quando eis seu eos alicui placu'it termino p'dicto durante Salvis semp & reservatis p'fatis Priorisse & Conventui & succ̃ suis pro se tenentibz servientibz & firmar̃ suis in & p venellam p'dc̃m p'fato Johanni p'dimissam lib̃is ingressu & egressu in & p venell̃ p'dc̃am durante termino p'dc̃o Et ulterius concedunt p'dict' Priorissa & Conventus pro se & succ̃ suis p'fato Joh̃i Crosby execut' & assign̄ suis p p'sentes p se & servientibz suis lib̃um egressum & ingressum ad carian̄d recarian̄d tam in plaustris sive bigis q'm equestr̃ seu pedestr̃ om̄ia & singula sibi necessar̃ Ac eund redeund & equitand p dict' Venellam a dicto teñ directe usq' in quandam viam australit' div'tentem p eccl̃iam Sc̃i Andree in Cornehill Londoñ et ab eadm̃ ira usq' & in venellam & teñ p'dc̃a om̄ibz tempibz p'dc̃o termino durante Et p'dict' Priorissa & Conventus & succ̃ sui totū p'dc̃m teñ cum domibz solar̃ celar̃ gardino adjaceñ eidm̃ teñ spectant' & alijs suis ptiñ simul cum venella novem mesuag̃ & vacua placea terre p'dict' ac alijs suis ptiñ sub condictione & forma supradict' una cum liber' ingressu & egressu p'dict' p'fato Joh̃i Crosby execut' & assign̄ suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabunt acquietabunt & defendent p p'sentes usq' ad finem termini nonaginta & novem annos supradictos In cujus rei testimoniū tam p'dict' Priorissa & Conventus sigillum eos com̄une qm̃ p'dc̃us Johannes Crosby sigillum suū hijs Indenturis alternatim apposuerunt Dat' Londoñ in domo Capitulari dc̃os Priorisse & Conventus domus sive Prioratus eos p'dict' in festo & annis supradictis.

BERNARD.

This Indenture was ensealed by the Prioresse and Covent w'ynne writen in their Chaptre hous w'ynne writen vnder their covene seale the day and yere w'ynne writen in the p'sence of Maist' Simond Bevynton pety Chañon of

Poules, the pson of Seint Alburghes w'ynne Bisshoppesgate ——— Hankford Gentilman Willm fitz-Water Gentilman Thomas Payne Carpenter Willm Hyll Robt Beynam and Thomas Folby Alle these nonnes whose names here followen thanne there beying p'sent atte same ensealying and consentyng thereto that is to wite Dame Alice Asshfeld Prioresse Dame Alice Woodhous Dame Johane Organ Dame Margarete Clerk Dame Elizabeth Harpynden Dame Elizabeth Hede Dame Rose Narburgh Dame Margarete Seyward Dame Alice Truthele Dame Johane Maby Dame Johane Norman and Dame Elizabeth Boteller.

APPENDIX No. II.

*The WILL of Sir JOHN CROSBY, Knight.

Extracted, in 1790, from the Regiſtry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; 179, Wattis.

IN the Name of God, Amen. The vi Day of the Month of Marche, the Year of our Lord MCCCCLXXI; and the Year of the Reign of King Edward the IIIIth after the Conqueſt XIIth. I JOHN CROSBY, Knight, Citizen and Grocer, and Alderman of the City of London, being of whole mind and in good memory, laud be unto Almighty God, make and ordain this my preſent Teſtament of my moveable Goods, Cattles, and Debts, and containing therein my laſt Will of all my Lands and Tenements with their Appurtenances, the which I, or any other perſons unto my uſe, have within the realm of England, in the manner and form that followeth:

Firſt, I bequeath and recommend my Soul unto Almighty God, my Maker and my Redeemer, and to the moſt glorious Virgin his Mother our Lady Saint Mary, and to the bleſſed College of his Saints, and my Body to be buried in the chapel of the Holy Ghoſt within the pariſh church of Saint Helen's, within Biſhopſgate of London, that is to wit, in the ſame place whereas the body of Annys, late my wife, lieth buried, in caſe it fortune me to deceaſe within the realm of England, and I bequeath to every of tho IIII, V, or VI perſons of the livery or clothing of my ſaid craft, that ſhall bear my body to the church, and ſo to my ſepultur, for his labour ſo to be had, *vis.* VIII*d.* And if it fortune me to deceaſe out of the realm of England, then I will, that my body be buried in ſome honeſt ſepulture of Holy Church beyond the ſea, whereas it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to provide for me. And if it fortune me to be buried within the chappell of the Holy Ghoſt afore rehearſed, then I will, that my executors hereunder written, as ſoon as they ſhall mowe goodly after my deceaſe, of my goods ordain and provide an honeſt tomb of marble to ſtand over the bodys of me and of the ſaid Anneys, late my wife, with ſcriptures and images of me, my ſaid late wife, and my children, to be made thereupon, making mention of our perſons, and of the day and year of my deceaſe, and with all other things according unto our degrees, as it ſhall ſeem to my executors honeſtly and conveniently, by their ſaid diſcretions to be done; and if it fortune me to be buried beyond the ſea, than I will that my ſaid executors, as ſoon as they ſhall mowe goodly after my deceaſe, provide and ordain ſome tomb of ſtone, honeſt and convenient to hue, and be ſett, or laid, in the place where it ſhall fortune my ſaid body to be buried beyond the ſea, and one other tomb of ſtone, honeſt and convenient to hue, and be ſett, or laid, in the ſaid chappell of the Holy Ghoſt in the place there whereas the body of my ſaid late wife lieth buried, and that upon my tomb or ſtone be made an image and ſcripture for me according to my degree, and that upon my ſaid late wyve's tomb or ſtone be made an image for her, and a ſcripture making mention of her, and of our children there lying buried, ſuch as ſhall be thought by my ſaid executors convenient to be done. And I will firſt and formoſt, and byfor all other things, that after my ſaid body be buried, under the manner and form aforeſaid, and my funeral expences full done, that then

**Transcribed from Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments."*

my ſaid executors provide and ordain ſuch a meane by their wiſe diſcretions that my debts, the which I owe of right, or of conſcience, to any manner perſons as ſoon as they may be goodly, be well and truly paid or ſet in ſuch a way as they may be ſurely paid; and after that done, then I bequeath to the high alter of the ſaid church of Saint Helen's for my tithes or offerings reſtrained or forgotten, if any ſo have been done in diſcharging of my ſoul lxvi*l.* 1*s.* viii*d.*

Item, I bequeath to the prioreſs of the houſe of St. Helen's within Biſhopſgate of London to pray for my ſoul xl*s.* and to every nonne of the ſame place under like form xx*s.* ſo that ſuch of them the day of my burial ſay placebo and dirge ſpecially for my ſoul.

Item, I bequeath to the pariſh prieſt of the pariſh church of St. Helen's annexed to the ſame place for his labour, being preſent at my burying in the ſaid chapel of the Holy Ghoſt, and alſo at dirge and maſs to be done for my ſoul in the ſame pariſh church, next after my deceaſe iii*s.* iiii*d.* and to every other prieſt and clerk ſtipendiar of the ſame church under the ſaid form ii*s.*

Item, I will that my executors hold my month mind in the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes, with all manner obſervances pertaining into the ſame, in due and honeſt form, without any worldly pomp.

Item, I will that all the torches and tapers that ſhall be occupied about my body, as about the corps preſent after the common language the days of my interment and month's mind, within the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes, be holden by poor people, without any other candelſtick, and that every man of them have for his labour in that behalf, and alſo to pray for me, xii*d.* And after my ſaid month's mind be full done and finiſhed, than I will that vi torches of the ſame torches be delivered by my executors unto the ſaid church of Saint Elynes, in the ſame church to remain and ſerve to the laud and honour of Almighty God and his Saints, as long as they may endure thereto; and ii of the ſaid torches I will that my executors deliver or do to be delivered unto the pariſh church of Handworth; and other ii torches of the ſaid torches to the pariſh church of Feltham; and other ii torches of the ſaid torches to the houſe of Houndeſlowe, to ſerve in the church there, and all the remainder of the torches ſ'vyng at my ſaid month's mind to be diſpoſed by my executors unto other poor pariſh churches where they ſhall ſeem moſt expedient after their wiſe diſcretions for the wele of my ſoul.

Item, I bequeath to be diſpoſed by my executors, after their wiſe diſcretions, among the poor houſeholders and other poor people dwelling within the ward of Biſhopſgate of London, the day of my deceaſe, that is to wit, between the time of my deceaſe and my month mind to be holden within the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes, xxx*l.* Provided always, that I will that every ſuch houſeholder and his wife have thereof at leſt for their parts iii*s.* iiii*d.*

Item, I bequeath to the prior and convent of the houſe of the Fryars Auguſtines within the City of London, to the intent that they as ſoon as they may goodly after my deceaſe do placebo and dirge and maſſe of requiem, by them to be ſung by note for my ſoul, and for the ſoul of Anneys, late my wife, and for the ſouls of all my children paſſed to God, and for all chriſtian ſouls in their convent church of their ſaid houſe xl*s.*

Item, I bequeath to the wardens and convent of the houſe of the Friars Menores within Newgate of London, under ſemblable form, xl*s*.

Item, I bequeath to the prior and convent of the houſe of the Friers Preachours within Ludgate of London, under ſemblable form, xl*s*.

Item, I bequeath to the prior and convent of the houſe of Freres Carmes in Fleteſtreet of London, under ſemblable form, xl*s*.

Item, I bequeath to the prior and convent of the houſe of the Freres called the Crowched Freres, beſide the Tour of London, under ſemblable form, xl*s*.

Item, I bequeath to the werkes of the church of the hoſpital called Saint Mary Spittle without Biſhopſgate of London, to the intent that the prior and convent there do placebo, dirge, and maſs of requiem, by them to be ſung by note in their convent church there, like as I have aſſigned before to be done in the convent church of ſuch of the houſes of Freres aforeſaid, and beſide forth that they have my ſoul recommended to God in their other devout prayers, c*s*.

Item, I bequeath to be beſtowed by my executors, after their wiſe diſcretion, after my deceaſe, among the poor and ſick people being then within the Spitall of Saint Mary Spitall aforeſaid, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath to be beſtowed in like among the diſtract people being then within the hoſpital of Bedlam, without Biſhopſgate of London, either in ready money, or in victuals, good and wholeſome for them, or in otherwiſe neceſſary for them, be it at one time, or at ſeveral times, after the diſcretions of my executors, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath to be diſpoſed in like wiſe, among the poor and ſick people then being within thoſpital of Saint Thomas Spittell in Southwark, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath to be diſpoſed in like wiſe, among the poor and ſick people then being within thoſpital of Elſing Spittell within Crepulgate of London, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath to be beſtowed in like wiſe, among the poor and ſick people for the time being within thoſpital called Saint Bartholomews Spittell in Smithfield of London, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath to the abbeſs and convent of the houſe of the Minoreſſe without Aldgate of London, where my couſin dame Syble Chriſtemas is a nonne profeſſed, to pray ſpecially for my ſoul, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath x*l*. by my executors to be applied and converted to the uſe and behoof of the ſaid dame Syble, my couſin, after her will and deſire, whether ſhe will have it at one time, or at divers times, and whether in money, other in other ſtuff, ſuch as ſhall be needful and neceſſary for her, by her deſire and to her own uſe.

Item, I bequeath to the prioreſſe and convent of the houſe of Holywell, beſide Sorditch, without Biſhopſgate of London, to pray ſpecially for my ſoul, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath to the prioreſs and convent of the houſe of Stratford at Bow, in the county of Middleſex, to pray ſpecially for my ſoul, xx*s*.

Item, I bequeath to the prior and convent of the houſe of Charterhouſe, beſide London, towards the ſupportacion of the charge of the ſame houſe, to the intent that they, as ſoon as they may goodly after my deceaſe, do placebo, dirge,

and maſs of requiem by them to be ſung by note for my ſoul, and the other ſouls above rehearſed in their convent church of their ſaid houſe and alſo that they otherwiſe have my ſoul ſpecially recommended unto o^{r} Lord God among their devout prayers, xl*s.*

Item, om'i, that I bequeath to the prior of the ſame place, to pray ſpecially for my ſoul, c*s.* And to the procurator of the ſame place under like form, iiii*l.*

Item, I bequeath to the abbeſs and the father, brethren, and ſiſters, of the monaſtery of Syon, under ſemblable forme that I have made my ſaid bequeſt to the ſaid prior and convent of Charterhouſe, beſide London, xl*l.* Ane on'e, that I bequeath to the abbeſſe of the ſame monaſterie under like form, c*s.*

Item, I bequeath to the old work of the cathedral church of Saint Paul of London, c*s.*

Item, I bequeath to Maſter Godard the elder, doctor of divinity, to pray for my ſoul, c*s.*

Item, I bequeath to Maſter John Bury, doctor of divinity, priour of the Freres Auguſtynes of London, to pray for my ſoul, c*s.* And to Maiſter Thomas Pencaer, doctor of divinity, and provincial of the ſame order, to pray for my ſoul, c*s.* And to Maiſt. Domynyk, a frere Itallyan of the ſame order receant in the ſame houſe, under like forme, c*s.*

Item, I bequeath to Maiſter Piers Baxter, under like form, c*s.*

Item, I bequeath xl*s.* to be beſtowed by myn executors in bread and drink, or other victuals, neceſſarie and behoufull for the priſoners being detained at my deceaſe, and after, within the gaol of Newgate of London, and to be miniſtered unto them at one time, or at divers times, as it ſhall be thought moſt convenient and neceſſary to be done, after the wiſe diſcretions of myn executors.

Item, I bequeath xl*s.* to be beſtowed and miniſtred in ſemblable wiſe for and to the priſoners being detained at my deceaſe, and after, within the gaol of Ludgate of London.

Item, I bequeath xl*s.* to be beſtowed and miniſtred in ſemblable wiſe for and to the priſoners being detained in like wiſe within the goal of the King's Bench in Southwarke.

Item, I bequeath xl*s.* to be beſtowed and miniſtred in ſemblable wiſe for and to the priſoners being detained in like wiſe within the gaol of the Marchalſe in Southwark aforeſaid.

Item, I bequeath cccc marc ſterling, therewith to find a covenable prieſt of good name and fame, and of virtuous converſation, to ſing and ſay his maſs and other divine ſ'vice, and to pray ſpecially for my ſoul, and for the ſouls afore rehearſed, and for all Chriſtian ſouls, in the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes, by the ſpace of xl years next enſuing after my deceaſe, or elſe as ſoon as the xl years may reaſonably be completed and performed after my deceaſe; and I will, that the ſaid prieſt ſo admitted to the ſaid ſervice, and every prieſt ſucceeding him in the ſame ſervice, be p̃nt in his proper perſon, and helping at all manner matyns, hours, maſſes, evening ſong, and complenes, to be done by note within the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes, on every Sunday and other feſtival days in the year, and alſo at other divine ſervices to be done in the ſame church on other

days, as the ſeaſons and times of the year ſhall require, during the ſaid term of xl years, of leſs that the ſame prieſt, or any other prieſt ſucceeding him in the ſaid ſervice have a reaſonable cauſe to excuſe him to the contrary; and I will that the ſaid prieſt and every priest ſucceeding him in the ſaid ſervice during all the time that it ſhall like my wife to be dwelling and abiding within my dwelling place that I occupy at this day, within the ſaid pariſh of Saint Elynes, be obedient unto my wife in all things lawful and honeſt, and give his attendance upon her in ſinging of divine ſervice afore her, at ſuch due times as ſhe ſhall reasonably deſire him; and I will, that if the ſaid prieſt be found debateful, or of unclean life, or of other unhoneſt converſation, and will not correct nor amend himſelf after warning thereof to him made by my ſaid wife, or by my executors, that than that prieſt, and every ſuch prieſt of ſuch condition, be removed from the ſaid ſervice, by my ſaid executors, and another prieſt of good name and fame, and of honeſt converſation, by my ſaid executors be choſen and admitted to the ſaid ſervice, as often as any ſuch caſe ſo ſhall fall, alway forſeen that I will, that if any prieſt of good name and fame, and of honeſt converſation, be toward my ſaid wife, or of her acquaintance, and be deſtitute of a ſervice ſhe being receant and abiding within my ſaid dwelling place, and by her be deſired of my executors to be preferred to the ſaid ſervice, the ſame ſervice than ſtandying voyd of a prieſt, that then her ſuch prieſt be preferred and admitted by my ſaid executors to the ſaid ſervice before any other.

Item, I will have my obite be holden and done ſolemnly by note in the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes every year, on the day that it ſhall fortune me to depart out of this world, during the term of xl years next ſuyng after my deceaſe, that is to wit, doing every even placebo and dirge, and on the morn maſs of requiem, ſolemnly by note for my ſoul, and for the ſouls of the ſaid Anneys, late my wife, and for my children ſouls, and for all Chriſtian ſouls; and I deſire that it will like the maiſter and wardens of the craft of the grocery of the city of London for the time being, with all the co'nalty of the livery or cloathing of the ſame craft yearly for to come unto my ſaid obite, during the ſaid term of xl years, under like manner and form as they uſe to go to the obites of other men of worſhip of the ſaid craft deceaſed, and being buried within the ſaid city; and for my ſaid obite to be holden and done in the ſaid church of Saint Elynes yearly, during the ſaid term of xl years, I bequeath c marc ſterling.

And I will that my executors as long, and while they, or any of them be alive, within the ſaid term of xl years, keep and do hold my ſaid obite themſelf, or which of them ſhall fortune longeſt to live in the ſaid pariſh church of St. Elynes, in manner and form aforeſaid; and if, and whenſoever it ſhall fortune them all to deceaſe within the ſaid term, that then, during the reſidue of the ſame term after deceaſes, I will that the wardens of the ſaid craft of the grocery, for the time being, if it like them, or elſe they refuſing it, then ſome other perſons, whom my ſaid executors, or he of them which ſhall fortune longeſt for to live, ſhall provide there to hold my ſaid obite yearly, during the ſaid reſidue of the ſaid term, in the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes; and I will, that my executors at ſuch time, and as ſoon as they ſhall think ſeaſon convenient after my deceaſe, offer the ſaid cccc marc, which I have aſſigned before to the finding the ſaid prieſt, and alſo the ſaid c marc, which I have aſſigned before to the keeping of my ſaid obite, unto the maſter and wardens of the ſaid craft of the grocery for the time being,

they, by my will and deſire, if they will aſſent thereto, to take it into their keeping, and to remain with them and their ſucceſſors ſucceſſively for the time being, by the aſſent and agreement of the comonalty of the ſame craft unto time that the ſame ℔ marc particularly be occupied and beſtowed in manner and form hereunder written. And oz' my executors depart with the ſaid ℔ marc out of their hands, I will that the ſaid wardens of the ſaid craft of the grocery, which ſhall fortune to receive the ſaid ℔ marc into their keeping, if they like ſo to do, by the aſſent and agreement of the comonalty of the ſame craft, or of ſuch other perſons of the ſame craft as beth ordained, named, and called Aſſociates to the wardens of the ſame craft, for to give their adviſes to the chargeable matiers of the ſame craft, make and deliver unto my ſaid executors all ſuch writings under their common ſeal of the ſame crafte, as ſhall be deſired by my executors to be had of them by the adviſes of the learned council of my ſaid executors, for to relieve and to depart again the ſame ℔ marc, or other ℔ marc, from them in manner and form following: that is to wit, that they and their ſucceſſors wardens of the ſaid craft of the grocery, for the time being, deliver, or do to be delivered, to my ſaid executors while they be alive, and to which of them that longeſt ſhall live, yearly, during the ſaid term of xl years, at ſuch terms or days of payment as ſhall be comprized in the ſaid writings viii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* ſterling, by my ſaid executors to be paid and diſpoſed yearly, in the form ſuing: that is to wit, thereof to the prieſt that ſhall ſing for me in manner and form aforeſaid in the ſaid church of Saint Elynes, for his ſalary yearly at iiii terms of the year, by even portions, x marc; and to be diſpoſed and ſpent yearly in my obite aforeſaid, to be holden and kept in manner and form, and during the term aforeſaid, xxxiii*s.* iiii*d.* under the form ſuing, that is to wit, thereof to be delivered and given to the upper maſter or upper warden of the iii wardens of the ſaid craft, if he be p̃nt in his pre pſone at dirge and maſs of requiem done for me in his time of wardenſhip in my ſaid obite, v*s.* and to either of the other ii wardens under ſemblable form iii*s.* iiii*d.* and to either of the clerks and bedell of the ſame craft, for to warne the wardens and comonalty of the ſame craft for the time being for to be at my ſaid obite, viii*d.* and to every prieſt ſtipendiarye and clerk of the ſame church of Saint Elynes, being preſent and helping at divine ſervice and other exequies done in my ſaid obite viii*d.* and the reſidue of the ſaid xxxiii*s.* iiii*d.* whatſoever it be than remaining, togider with ſuch wages afore-rehearſed, as by me beth aſſigned to the ſaid wardens for their ſaid preſences at my ſaid obite, being reſtrained from them, or from any of them, by means of their abſences from thence, I will it be beſtowed by my executors yearly, in the hire of a covenable light to brenne about my body at ſervice time don in my ſaid obite, and in bread, ale, cheeſe, ſpices, and wine, or ſuch of them as the ſeaſon and time of the year ſhall require, to the refreſhing of the ſaid wardens and comonalty, and of others coming to my ſaid obite, and of the ſaid prieſts and clerks being preſent, and helping at divine ſervice done in my ſaid obite, and in diſtribution in ready money to be made among the poor people dwelling for the time in the ſaid pariſh of Saint Elynes, and namely houſeholders, as far forth and in ſuch wiſe as the ſaid reſidue, with ſuch wages, as are afore-rehearſed of the ſaid wardens ſo reſtrained from them, or from any of them, if any fortune ſo to be, will extend thereto after the diſcretions of my executors, ſaving in the firſt obite that ſhall ſo be kept and holden for me, which ſhall be called myn anniverſary, or xii months mind, I will that my executors hold the ſame my xii months mind, in honeſt form, as ſhall be thought conve-

nient to be done after their wife difcretions, and that they ſpend of my goods in the ſame my xii months mind ſo to be holden, over and above the xxxiiis. iiiid. aforeſaid aſſigned unto the ſame as it is above rehearſed, as much money as they ſhall ſeem expedient to be done after their wife diſcretions, as well for a dinner or repaſt to be ordeined for my wife and them, and other whom they ſhall ſeem expedient as otherwiſe ; and if it fortune my ſaid executors all for to die within and before the end of the ſaid term of xl years, then I will that the wardens of the ſaid craft of the grocers, for the time being, from the time of the deceaſe of all my ſaid executors unto the full accompliſhment of the ſaid term of xl years, make payment to the ſaid prieſt of his ſaid ſalary of v marc by year, and also hold my ſaid obite in the ſaid pariſh church of Saint Elynes, and beſtowe, pay, and diſtribute in the ſame, xxxiiis. iiiid. yearly, in all manner degrees after the tenor and form above written that have aſſigned my ſaid executors to make payments to the ſaid prieſt of the ſaid ſalary, and to hold my ſaid obite and beſtowe and pay and diſtribute xxxiiis. iiiid. yearly therein ; and in caſe it fortune the wardens of the ſaid craft of grocers to refuſe for to make and deliver to my ſaid executors ſuch writings under their common ſeale as I have afore rehearſed, than I will not that the ſaid c marc be delivered unto them, but then I will that the ſaid $\frac{c}{v}$ marc be offered unto the prior and convent of the ſaid houſe of Charterhouſe beſide London, or into ſome other ſufficient houſe of religion, they to have it in the keeping of them and of their ſucceſſors, and to make and deliver unto my ſaid executors for the repayment of the ſame ſuch and ſemblable ſureties and writings under their common ſeale, as I have deſired above, to be had of the wardens of the ſaid craft of grocers, if the custody of the ſame ſum ſhould remain towards them.

Item, whereas the prioreſs and convent of the houſe of Saint Elynes aforeſaid ſtand greatly indebted at this day in divers and notable ſums of money, to divers their creditors, as well within the city of London as elſewhere, to their right grievous charge and pain ; where alſo as I the ſaid John Crosby have done great and notable coſt in building in and upon certain lands and tenements, the which I have and hold of them at this day, within the pariſh of Saint Elynes aforeſaid, for the term of certain years yet coming unto me and to my executors of and in the ſame : I John Crosby aforeſaid, conſidering the great damages that the ſaid prioreſſe and convent ſtand in by the mean of the great duties that they owe, of my very pure charity and good zeal that I bear towards them bequeath xl*l.* to be converted and applied by my executors at ſuch time as they ſhall ſeem expedient by their wife diſcretions towards the contentation of ſuch creditors of the ſaid prioreſſe and convent as the ſame prioreſſe and convent will aſſign, or be agreeable unto, in mitigation, diminiſhing, and diſcharging of ſo much money of the ſaid notable ſums of money that they owe as the ſaid xl*l.* will extend unto, or more as the ſaid creditors for their ſuch ready payment may be entreated unto, under this condition, and to the intent that the ſaid prioreſſe and convent, in conſideration of my ſaid notable coſt and charge, the which I have born and done in building upon their ſaid ground, at ſuch time as they ſhall be required by my ſaid executors, enſeal and deliver, or do to be delivered to my ſame executors, ſuch writings ſufficient in the law, under their common ſeal, as my ſaid executors ſhall deſire to be had of them, and to be made by the adviſe of the learned counſel of my ſaid executors, by the which writings the ſaid prioreſſe and convent ſhall approve, ratify, and confirm, for them and their ſucceſſors, to my ſaid executors,

or to whom they will name and aſſign, all ſuch eſtate and term or years as then ſhall be coming of the eſtate, and term of years, the which I have at this day of the grant of the ſaid prioreſſe and convent, of and in all the ſaid lands and tenements with their appurtenances, the which I hold of them at this day, within the pariſh of Saint Elynes aforeſaid ; and if the ſaid prioreſſe and convent refuſe to enſeal and deliver every ſuch writings under their common ſeal to my ſaid executors, and ſo take no regard to my ſaid chargeable coſt in building as is aforeſaid that I have done, then I will that my said bequeſt of xl*l.* by me before appointed towards the contentation of their duties aforeſaid be utterly void, and of no force nor effect, and that the ſaid prioreſſe and convent and their ſucceſſors and alſo their creditors be utterly excluded from the ſame for evermore.

Item, I will that my ſaid executors, if and when my goods and debts ſhall come reaſonable unto their hands or poſſeſſion, ſpend of my ſame goods and debts upon then renewing and reforming of the pariſh church of Saint Elynes aforeſaid $\frac{c}{v}$ marc ſterling.

Item, I will that my ſaid executors of my goods do the coſts of the glazing, garniſhing, and apparailyng of the chancell of the pariſh church of Haneworth in the county of Middleſex, though the coſts extend unto the ſum of xl*l.* or ſomewhat more.

Item, I bequeath to the reparation and reformation of the gate called Biſhopſgate of London, and of the town walls next adjoining the ſame gate, c*l.* under this condition, that if the mayor, aldermen, and comonaltie of the city of London, at any time within x years next ſuing after my deceaſe will ſet upon the reparations and reformations of the gates and walls of the ſaid city, and do them effectually to be repaired and reformed, that then I will that the ſaid c*l.* be beſtowed upon the reparation and reformation of the ſaid gate called Biſhopſgate, with the town walls adjoining thereto, as far as the ſame c*l.* will extend thereto, willing that the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and comonaltie, perform up the remnant of the coſts of the ſame ; and if the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and comonalty within the ſaid term of x years ſet not upon the reparations and reformations of the gates and walls of the aforeſaid with effect, then I will that my ſaid bequeſt of the ſaid c*l.* be void and of none effect, and utterly had for nought.

Item, I bequeath towards the making of a new toure of ſtone, to be ſet and ſtand at Stulpes, at ſouth end of London bridge, or there about, toward Southwark, as communication hath been had between the ſaid mayor and aldermen of ſuch a new tour of ſtone there to be made and ſett, c*l.* under this condition, that if the ſaid mayor and aldermen or their ſucceſſors for the time being, at any time within the ſaid term of x years, do and ordain the ſaid new toure of ſtone there to be made and ſet up according to the ſaid communication hereof before had, then I will that my executors be ready to lay down the ſaid c*l.* towards the making of the ſaid tour peelemele, as the work thereof go forthward after their diſcretions, and like as the mayor and aldermen ſhall ordain other ſums of money to be laid down unto the ſame ; and if the ſaid tour of ſtone be not begun to be made in the place, manner, and form aforeſaid, within the ſaid term of x years, then I will that my ſaid bequeſt of the ſaid c*l.* thereto be void and had for nought.

Item, I bequeath to the reparation of the brigge at Roucheſtre, x*l.*

Item, I bequeath to the warders and comonalty of the ſaid craft of grocers of the city of London, two large potts of ſilver chaſed, half gilt, weighing xiii^{lb} v ounces or thereabouts of troy weight, willing and deſiring the ſame potts to remain in the treaſury, and to the uſe and behoof of the ſame comonalty, and to be occupied to the worſhip of God, and of the ſame comonalty, in their hall, and elſewhere, whereas the wardens with the aſſent of the ſame comonalty ſhall ſeem expedient and behovefull, as long as they may endure, to the intent that the comonalty of the ſame craft for the time being may have mind of my ſoul.

Item, I bequeath to each of the ſons and daughters of William Chedworth, my wife's father, being alive to the time of my deceaſe, my ſaid wife alvonly except, xx*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Margarete Chedworth, my wife's couſin, dwelling with her and me, xx*l.*

Item, I bequeath to William Parys, x*l.* and to Anneys his wife, ſome time my ſervant, towards her coverchiefs, x*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Johanne Croſby, otherwiſe called Johanne Talbott, my daughter, cc marc, to be delivered unto her by my executors, when ſhe ſhall come unto her lawful age, or be married; and then that I will, that ſhe be found by my executors in all manner degrees of my goods into time that ſhe come unto her lawful age, or be married; and I will that the ſaid cc marc remain in the keeping of my ſaid executors, or elſe in other ſure keeping whereas they can condeſcend upon, into time that the ſaid Johanne come unto her lawful age, or be married, of leſs than it happen the ſaid Johanne to dye before that ſhe come unto her lawful age, or before that ſhe be married; and if it happen ſo, then I will that the ſame cc marc be diſpoſed by my executors for my ſoul and for her ſoul, and for all chriſtian ſouls, in good deeds of charity, ſuch as they hope to beſt pleaſe God withall.

Item, I bequeath to Petro Chriſtemas, my couſin, and my apprentice, c*l.*

Item, I bequeath to my couſin, Elyne Chriſtemas, x*l.*

Item, I bequeath to my couſin Johanne, the wife of Thomas Turke, c*s.*

Item, I bequeath to Jerom Friſtobald, merchant, of Florence, for the good faith and truth that he hath born towards me afore this time, and hereafter intendeth for to do, as my confidence thereof is right eſpecial in him, l*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Thomas Wynham, for the good ſervice that he hath done unto me, and intendeth to do for the time that he hath and ſhall ſtand my factor or attorney, l*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Hugh Bennyngton, my ſervant, under like form, xx marc.

Item, I bequeath to Robert Baynh'm, my ſervant, under like form, x*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Thomas Apulby, my ſervant, under like form, v marc

Item, I bequeath to Thomas Fiſher, my apprentice, v marc.

Item, I bequeath to Richard Southworth, my apprentice, v marc.

Item, I bequeath to Thomas Roche, my apprentice, v marc.

Item, I bequeath to John, my cook, xx*s.*

Item, I bequeath to John Adamſon, my ſervant, xx*s.*

Item, I bequeath to Richard Thorneby, my ſervant, xx*s.*

Item, I bequeath to John Bee, childe of my kitchen, xl*s.*

Item, I bequeath to Kateryn, my woman ſervant, xl*s.*

Item, I bequeath to the p'ſone of Haneworth, to pray for my ſoul, xx*s.*

Item, I bequeath to William Perſon, my farmer of my manor of Haneworth, v marc, to be allowed and deducted unto him by my executors out of ſuch duties as he oweth me.

Item, I bequeath unto his wife, towards her coverchiefs, xx*s.*

Item, I bequeath to William Weſtwood of Haneworth, late my ſervant, xl*s.*

Item, I bequeath to Roger Chadwyk, haberdaſher, of London, xx*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Elizabeth, late the wife of Lyndeſey, late grocer of London, now dead, x*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Thomas Hoo, grocer of London, x*l.*

Item, I bequeath to John Parker, ſcrivener, of London, x*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Henry Nicole, clerk of the craft of Grocers of London, xl*s.* to be allowed and deducted unto him by my executors out of ſuch duties as he oweth me; and in caſe it can be found, by due reckoning with him to be made, that he oweth me not fullieth xl*s.* then I will that he have allowed unto him by my executors towards the ſaid xl*s.* ſuch money as he oweth me under the ſum of xl*s.* and the remnant I will that he have of my goods, to the performing of the full bequeſt of the ſaid xl*s.*

Item, I bequeath to the beadle of the ſame craft ſuch a gowne of mine as the uſage is for him to have of an alderman of the ſame craft departing out of this world, or elſe I will that he have ſuch money therefore as can be accorded between my executors and him.

Item, I bequeath to the child the which at this time is, or the which hereafter may fortune to be in my wife's womb, of my begetting, if any ſuch child now be therein, or fortune hereafter to be, and that the ſame child live unto the time that it come to the lawful age thereof, or till that it be married, all ſuch part of my moveable goods, cattels, and debts, as the ſame child for the proper part thereof ought for to have after the law, uſage, or cuſtom of the city of London.

Item, I bequeath to Ann my wife, in the name of her dower, and purpart to her belonging of my moveable goods, cattels, and debts, after or by the law, uſage, or cuſtom of the ſaid city of London, or by any other law, uſage, other cuſtom $\frac{II}{MM}$li. in ready money; and all her array, gurdles, broches, beads, and rings, to her own proper body, for her own proper wearing, pertaining; and alſo all my houſehold whole, as it is within myn dwelling place in the pariſh

of Saint Elynes aforeſaid: All my plate of gold, and of ſilver gilt and parcel gilt, and of ſilver white; and alſo all my armours, as well curaces, bregandynes, and jakks, as all other whatſoever it be; and alſo all my wearing cloths, broches, beads, and rings, and all other gear to my own proper perſon pertaining for my own proper wearing; and alſo all my ware and merchandize, whatſoever it be, being within my dwelling place aforeſaid, and in all other places elſewhere excepted, and to my ſaid executors towards the performing of my other legacies contained in this my preſent teſtament always reſerved. And I will that the ſaid Anne, my wife, have the ſaid $\frac{l\ l}{MM}$li. delivered and paid unto her by my ſaid executors at ſuch times and terms of reſpite as my debts can be reaſonably levied, and come unto the hands and poſſeſſion of my ſaid executors; and that ſhe have the ſame $\frac{l\ l}{MM}$li. delivered unto her, either in ready money, or part thereof in money, and part thereof in plate, ſuch as ſhe will chuſe to have, of my ſaid plate of gold, and of ſilver gilt and p'cel gilt, and of ſilver white, or which thereof that ſhe had leveſt have, after her own election, at ſuch reaſonable price as that plate ſhe will chooſe to take ſhall be worth reaſonable to be bought and ſold for ready money between merchant and merchant in the ſaid city of London. Alſo I bequeath to the ſame Anne my wife, as in the name of her dower and purpart aforeſaid, all the eſtate and term of years the which I have yet coming of and in all the ſaid lands and tenements, with their appurtenances, ſett and being in the pariſh of Saint Elynes aforeſaid, the which as it is aforeſaid I hold of the prioreſſe and convent aforeſaid, to have and to hold all the ſame lands and tenements with the appurtenances, and all my ſaid eſtate and term of years yet coming unto me of and in the ſame to the ſame Anne my wife and her aſſigns, during the nonage of the ſaid child the which at this time is, or the which hereafter may fortune to be in my ſaid wife's womb, of my begetting, if any ſuch child now be therein, or fortune hereafter to be therein; and if no child at this time be therein, nor hereafter fortune to be therein, to have and to hold all the ſaid lands and tenements with the appurtenances to the ſame Anne my wife, and to her aſſigns, during all the eſtate and term of years to me yet coming of and in the ſame, in caſe the ſaid Anne live ſo long; and I will that as long as it ſhall fortune the ſaid Anne my wife to have and to hold the ſaid lands and tenements by virtue of this my bequeſt, that ſo long the ſame Anne and her aſſigns ſhall pay, bear, and ſupport well and truly, every year, all manner rents, ferms, reparations, and all other charge whatſoever they be, chargeable of for and upon the ſame lands and tenements with the appurtenances, and that in as ample form, and in all manner degrees, as I and my executors ſtand bound to the ſaid prioreſſe and convent and to their ſucceſſors for to do, and om'i that I will that the ſaid Anne my wife, within a quarter next ſuing after my deceaſe, find ſufficient ſurity to my ſaid executors, ſuch as they will be agreeable unto, that ſhe and her aſſigns well and truly ſhall perform and fulfill all the ſaid payments, and other charges whatſoever they be, ſo that in the default of her or of her aſſigns the ſaid prioreſſe and convent, or their ſucceſſors, have no cauſe of re-entry into the lands and tenements aforeſaid, with the appurtenances, nor into any part of the ſame, during all the eſtate and term of years yet coming unto me of and in the ſame; and if it fortune the ſaid Anne my wife to deceaſe before the end of the ſaid term of years yet to me coming of and in the lands and tenements aforeſaid, no child in the mean time being in her wombe of my begetting, then I will that all the eſtate and term of years growing or belonging to the ſaid Anne my wife, of and

in the ſaid lands and tenements, by virtue and reaſon of this my bequeſt, from the day of the deceaſe of the ſame Anne forthward ceaſe, and be no longer of any ſtrength nor effect ; but I bequeath to my executors, by this my preſent teſtament, all the eſtate and term of years the day of ſuch deceaſe of my ſaid wife coming of and in all the lands and tenements aforeſaid, to have and to hold to my ſaid executors and to their executors from the day of such deceaſe of the ſaid Anne my wife, during all the eſtate and term of years then coming of and in the lands and tenements aforeſaid, to the intent that whenſoever the ſaid lands and tenements by reaſon of this my bequeſt ſhall come into the poſſeſſion of my ſaid executors, or of their executors, that then my ſaid executors or their executors ſhall ſell all their ſuch eſtate and term of years then coming unto them of and in the lands and tenements aforeſaid, to whom they ſhall ſeem expedient, and diſpoſe the money coming of the ſale of them, for my ſoul, and for the ſouls of the ſaid Anneys and Anne my wives, and for our children ſouls, and all chriſtian ſouls, in deeds of charity, ſuch as the ſaid ſellers hope to pleaſe God withall for the well of our ſouls ; and if their be any child at this time, or at any time hereafter ther fortune to be any in my ſaid wife's womb of my begetting, and then if it fortune the ſaid Anne my wife to deceaſe, my ſaid child being of nonage and unmarried, then I will that all the eſtate and term of years growing or belonging to the ſaid Anne my wife, of and in the ſaid lands and tenements, by virtue and reaſon of this my bequeſt, from the day of the deceaſe of the ſaid Anne my wife forthwith ceaſe, and be no longer of any ſtrength or effect ; but then I will that the ſaid lands and tenements remain to my ſaid executors, to have and to hold to them and their executors from the day of the ſuch deceaſe of the ſaid Anne my wife, unto the time that my ſaid child born to the lawful age thereof or be married ; and by all the mean time I will that my executors and their executors pay, bear, and ſupport well and truly all the rents, farms, reparations, and all other charge whatſoever they be, of and for the ſame lands and tenements, of the iſſues, profits, rents, and farms, in the mean time growing and coming of the ſame, in like manner and form as I ſtand bound for to be ; and I will and ordain by this preſent teſtament that whenſoever my ſaid child ſhall come unto the lawful age of it, or be married, whether my ſaid wife Anne then be alive or dead, that then it ſhall be lawful to my ſaid child for to enter into all the lands and tenements aforeſaid, with their appurtenances, to have and to hold then to my ſaid child and to the heirs of the body of it lawfully begotten, during all the eſtate and terms of years then coming of and in the ſame, my ſaid child and the ſaid heirs thereof yielding, paying, bearing, and ſupporting, of and for the ſame by all the mean time all rents, ſervices, reparations, and charges of and for the ſame, in like manner and form as I am bound for to do ; and if my ſaid child die without any heir of the body of it lawfully begotten before the end of the ſaid term of years yet to me coming of and in the lands and tenements aforeſaid, then I will that all the eſtate and terms of years growing or belonging to my ſaid child, of and in the ſaid lands and tenements by virtue and reaſon of this my bequeſt, from the day of the deceaſe of it forthward ceaſe, and be no longer of my ſtrength or effect ; but I bequeath to my ſaid executors, by this my preſent teſtament, all the eſtate and terms of years the day of ſuch deceaſe of my ſaid child coming of and in all the ſaid lands and tenements, to have and to hold then to my ſaid executors and to their executors from the day of ſuch deceaſe of my ſaid child, during all the eſtate and terms

of years then coming of and in the ſame, to the intent to make ſale thereof, and to diſpoſe the money coming of the ſame ſale in manner and form in all degrees as it is afore rehearſed ; and if the caſe fortune ſo that the ſaid Anne my wife hold her not contented and pleaſed with my bequeſt aforeſaid to her by me after made as to take them in full contentation and plain ſatisfaction of her dower and purpart above rehearſed, then I will and ordain by this my present teſtament that all my ſaid bequeſts to the ſaid Anne my wife by me before made be utterly void, and of no ſtrength nor effect ; but I will that the ſaid Anne have then for her ſaid dower and purpart of my ſaid goods, cattles, and debts, ſuch parts alvonly as the law will then give her, without any other manner favor to be ſhewed unto her.

Item, I bequeath to George Irland, Knight, Citizen and Grocer and Alderman of London, xl*l.*

Item, I bequeath to Thomas Rygby of London, gentleman, under condition that he take upon him the charge of execution of this my preſent teſtament, lx*l.*

Item, I bequeath to William Bracebridge, citizen and draper of London, under the ſame condition, lx*l.*

And the reſidue of all my goods, cattals, and debts, whatſoever they be, after my debts paid the which I owe, and after my legatees above written full contented after ſuch form as is made mention in my will hereunder written, I bequeath to be diſpoſed by my executors for my ſoul, and the ſouls afore rehearſed, in ſuch deeds of charity and pittie as beth contained in my will hereunder written, and like as they hope to pleaſe God and profitt for my ſoul.

MEMORANDUM, that hereunder followeth the laſt will of me the ſaid John Crosby, made the day and year aforeſaid, as to the diſpoſition of my manor of Haneworth, with the appurtenances, in the county of Middleſex, and of all my other lands and tenements with the appurtenances, the which I with other or any other unto my uſe have in Haneworth aforeſaid, and in Feltham and elſewhere in the ſame county of Middleſex ; (that is to wit,) Firſt, I will that my executors keep the ſaid manour, lands, and tenements, with the appurtenances, at their rule and diſpoſition, and alſo perceive and have all manner ſerms, rents, revenues, and profits of the ſame, by the ſpace of two years next ſuing after my deceaſe ; and if the caſe ſo fall in the mean time, or before, that through the infortuny of the world, ſuch non-ſufficiency or loſs fall of my goods, cattels, and merchandiſes, and alſo ſuch feeble recovery or feeble payment, or ſo great loſs fall of the debts unto me due, wherethrough my goods, cattels, merchandizes, and debts, ſuch as ſhall come to the poſſeſſion or rule of my executors, will not, after the payment or agreement made of ſuch duties as I owe, extend to the contenting or fulfilling of my legacies contained in my teſtament above rehearſed, and ſo clearly founden and proved by my executors afore their and my ordinary in that behalf, within the ſaid two years next ſuing after my deceaſe, then I will that my ſaid executors convert and apply all the ſaid farmes, rents, revenues, and profits, by them provided and to be provided in the mean time, that is to wit, ſuch of the fermes, rents, revenues, and profits, as ſhall veſt in their hands, or be under their rule, and the ordinary charge of the ſame manor, lands, and tenements by them before the hand paid and borne, towards the contentation of ſuch duties as I owe ; and om'i, that if it may be towards the contentation of

my bequeſt contained in my teſtament above rehearſed, under the manner and form hereunder written ; and moreover I will, that my ſaid executors at the end of the ſaid ii years, or ſooner, or after, as ſoon as they ſhall ſeem expedient after their wife diſcretions, ſell my ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, with the appurtenances, to whom it ſhall like them, and at as good a price as they ſhall reaſonably now do it, and the money coming of the ſame ſale that they apply and count, if need be, as well toward the payment and contentation of ſuch duties as I owe, as towards the fulfilling and contentation of my ſaid legacies contained in my ſaid teſtament, as far as the ſame money, with my other goods, catals, merchandizes, and debts aforeſaid, will extend thereto ; and if the money coming of the ſaid ſale of my ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, with the appurtenances, together with my other goods, cattals, merchandizes, and debts aforeſaid, will not extend, after ſuch debts paid as I owe, to the fulfilling and contentation of my ſaid legacies contained in my ſaid teſtament, then I will and ordain by this my preſent teſtament and laſt will, that my ſaid executors, by the advice and authority of mine and their ordinary in this behalf, as ſoon as they ſhall ſeem time and ſeaſon convenient make an equal defalcation or diminution, pound, pound-like, penny, penny-like, and rate, rate-like, of all the legacies aforeſaid contained in my teſtament aforeſaid, after their good conſciences and ſadd diſcretions, the two legacies by me made to my ſaid executors, by my ſaid teſtament hole as they beth without any diminiſhing, alvonly except, and to my ſame two executors ſo ſaved and reſerved ; for ſo it is my full will and intent in any wiſe for to be : and after the ſaid defalcations and diminutions ſo made of all my ſaid legacies, except and ſaved tho that before be excepted and ſaved, then I will that all the reſidue of all my ſaid legacies, over the ſaid defalcations and diminutions ſo made of them, be well and truly paid and contented by my ſaid executors of the money, goods, catals, merchandizes, and debts aforeſaid, according to right reaſon and good conſcience ; for it is full will that they be ſo paid : and if my goods, catals, merchandizes, and debts, which ſhall come unto the poſſeſſion and rule of my ſaid executors after my deceaſe, be of ſuch quantity and value that as well my debts which I owe to any perſons, as all my ſaid legacies contained in my teſtament above ſaid, may be well and truly and wholly paid, contented, and fulfilled, as they ſtand in my said teſtament, without any neceſſity of ſale to be made of my manor, lands, and tenements aforeſaid, after the forme aforeſaid, then I will, that if the ſaid Anne my wife hold her fully contented and agreed and pleaſed with my ſaid legacy by me aſſigned unto her by my ſaid teſtament, as in full contentation and plain ſatisfaction of all her dower and purpart before rehearſed, that then the ſame Anne my wife, and her aſſigns, under that condition obſerved, and elſe not, ſhall have and hold my manor, lands, and tenements aforeſaid, and alſo perceive and have to her own proper uſe and behoof all the farmes, rents, revenues, and profits yearly coming of the ſame, during the nonage of my ſaid child now being in her womb, or fortuning hereafter to be, of my begetting : and if no ſuch child at this time be in her womb, nor hereafter fortune to be, then I will that the ſaid Anne my wife, and her aſſigns, under the condition afore rehearſed obſerved, and elſe not, have and hold my ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, and alſo perceive and have to her own proper uſe and behoof all the former rents, revenues, and profits yearly coming of the ſame, during the life of the ſaid Anne my wife ; and I will that as long as the ſaid Anne my wife, and her aſſigns, by reaſon and vertue of this my preſent will, ſhall have and hold my ſaid manor, lands, and

tenements, and alſo perceive and have all the farms, rents, revenues, and profits yearly coming of the ſame, that ſo long the ſame Anne and her aſſigns, with their own proper coſts and expences, well and ſufficiently ſhall repair, ſuſtain, and maintain all the houſes, edifications, and cloſures of my ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, as often as need ſhall require ; and I will, that whenſoever and as ſoon as my ſaid child now being in my ſaid wive's womb, or fortuning hereafter for to be of my begetting, come unto the lawful age thereof, or be married, that then and ſo ſoon the ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, with their appurtenances, ſhall remain unto my ſaid child, and to the heirs of the body thereof lawfully begotten ; and for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder of the ſame manor, lands, and tenements, with their appurtenances, to my daughter Johanne Croſby above named, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten ; and for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder of the ſame manor, lands, and tenements, with their appurtenances, to my ſaid couſin Petro Chriſtemas, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten ; and furthermore I will that if it ſo fall that no child at this time be in my ſaid wife's womb, nor none hereafter fortune to be of my begetting, that then after the deceaſe of the ſaid Anne my wife, and no other of the ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, with their appurtenances, ſhall remain to my ſaid daughter Johanne Croſby, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten ; and, for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder of the manor, lands, and tenements, with their appurtenances, to my ſaid couſin Petro Chriſtemas, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten ; and for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder of the ſaid manor, lands, and tenements with their appurtenances, to the maſter and wardens of the craft of Grocers in the city of London at that time being and to their ſucceſſors, maſter and wardens of the ſame craft for the time being for evermore, to the intent and under this condition, that whenſoever and how ſoon that it ſhall fortune the ſaid maſter and wardens of the ſaid craft of Grocers, or their ſucceſſors, by the means of this my preſent will, to come unto the poſſeſſion of the ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, with the appurtenances, that then and ſo ſoon, or as ſoon after as they may goodly, they ſhall ſell the ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, with their appurtenances, by the advice, aſſent, and agreement, of the aldermen of the ſame craft, and of the perſons of the ſame craft called aſſociates, to whom it ſhall like them, and at as good price as they ſhall mowe reaſonably do it. And the money coming of the ſame ſale they ſhall diſpoſe and demean by the advice, aſſent, and agreement in the form ſuing ; that is to wit, that they ſhall take out of the ſame money xxv*l.* and thereof x*l.* put in the common box or treaſury of the comonalty of the ſame craft, and to be occupied towards the ſuſtynance and ſupportation of the poor alms men of the ſame craft, and the xv*l.* remaining of the ſame ſaid xxv*l.* I will that the ſaid maſter and wardens depart evenly between them by even portions, and have it for their labour, that they ſhall have as well about the ſaid ſale of the ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, as about the diſpoſition of the money coming of the ſaid ſale ; and the reſidue of all the money coming and to be perceived of the ſame ſale on the ſaid xxv*l.* deducted and taken out thereof and converted to the uſes aforeſaid, I will that it be diſpoſed by the ſaid maſter and wardens, ſellers of the ſaid manor, lands, and tenements, by the advice and aſſent and agreement of the ſaid aldermen and aſſociates, for my ſoul, and for the ſoules of the ſaid Anneys and Ann, my wives and for our children ſouls, and for all chriſtian ſoules, in doing of maſſes, in making or buying of books, veſtments, chaleyes, and other apparelment of

the church, and to be given unto poor churches where need ſhall require, in relieving of poor priſoners and getting ſome of them out of priſon, in marriage of poor maidens of good name and fame, to each of them xl*s.* at leaſt, in amending of broken bridges and of foul, noyous, and perilous high weies, and in other deeds of alms, charity, and pity, after the diſcretions of the ſaid ſellers, by the adviſes aforeſaid, as they hope beſt to pleaſe our Lord God, and moſt to profit unto our ſouls ; and I will, that my feoffees of and in all my manors, lands, and tenements aforeſaid, whenſoever they ſhall be reaſonably required by my executors, make, or do to be made, a ſufficient eſtate or ſufficient eſtates in the law of and in the manor, lands, and tenements aforeſaid, with their appurtenances, unto ſuch a pe on, or to ſuch perſons, as they ſhall be adviſed by my ſaid executors, as well with eſtates of remainder as otherwiſe, according to my ſaid will thereof above made, and alſo in ſuch wiſe as may be according with the law. Alſo I will and deſire and require my executors named in this my preſent teſtament and laſt will, and I give unto them plain power and full authority in as much as in me is by this my preſent teſtament, that if any clauſes, matters, or words, comprized in this my preſent teſtament and laſt will, by the negligence, ſimpleneſs, ignorance, or lack of ſcience or of cunning of the writer hereof, be found hereafter not ſententiall in themſelf, but contrarieng or repugnant in themſelf, or any of them againſt other, wherethrough my bequeſt and will above rehearſed in any part or parts of them might be diſtourbled, broken, or not fulfilled, after my true meaning and plain intent in them, that then my ſaid executors, by the aſſent and agreement, and under the authority of myn and their ordinary in this behalf, and by the advice of ſuch learned counſell as they ſhall like to call unto them, do and cauſe all ſuch defaults ſo founden in this my preſent teſtament and laſt will, be it in clauſes, matters, or words, or in which of them ſoever it be, well and ſufficiently to be reformed, corrected, and amended. Specially alſo I deſire and require the ſaid ordinary, on the behalf of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is Father and Head of all ſcience and truth, that it will like him to ſuffer, give comfort, and aid, and plain authority to my ſaid executors, that they by the advice of ſuch learned council as they will call unto them, if they like ſo to do, and cauſe all ſuch defaults as beth afore rehearſed well and ſufficiently to be reformed, corrected, and amended, after the effect of my ſaid teſtament and laſt will, according to my true intent and plain meaning of and in the ſame : and of this my preſent teſtament and laſt will, I make and ordain my executors the ſaid Thomas Rygby of London, Gentleman, and the ſaid William Bracebrigge, Citizen and Draper of the ſaid City of London : in witneſs whereof to this my preſent teſtament, containing therein my laſt will, I have ſet my ſeal and my ſign manuel the day and year aforeſaid.

Probatum fuit p̃ris teſt̃m apud Lamehith cora' Domino, ſexto die menſ' Februarij, ano Dñi MCCCCLXX^mo quinto, ac approbatum ; et commiſſa fuit adminiſtracio bonorum executoribus in teſtamento nominat' de bene et fideliter ac ſub unanimi conſenſu admĩſtrand' ac de pleno inventario bonor' et debitor' citra feſtum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiſte proxim' n^c non de plano compoto in debita juris forma jurat'.

GEO. GOSTLING,
JAMES TOWNLEY,
RT. DODWELL. } Deputy Regiſters.

APPENDIX No. III.

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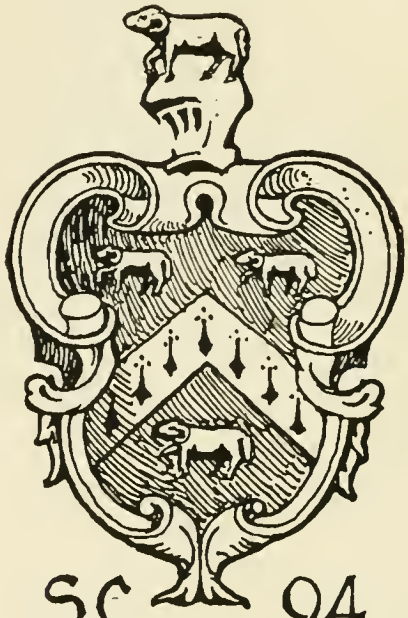

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